The Journal of Historical Review

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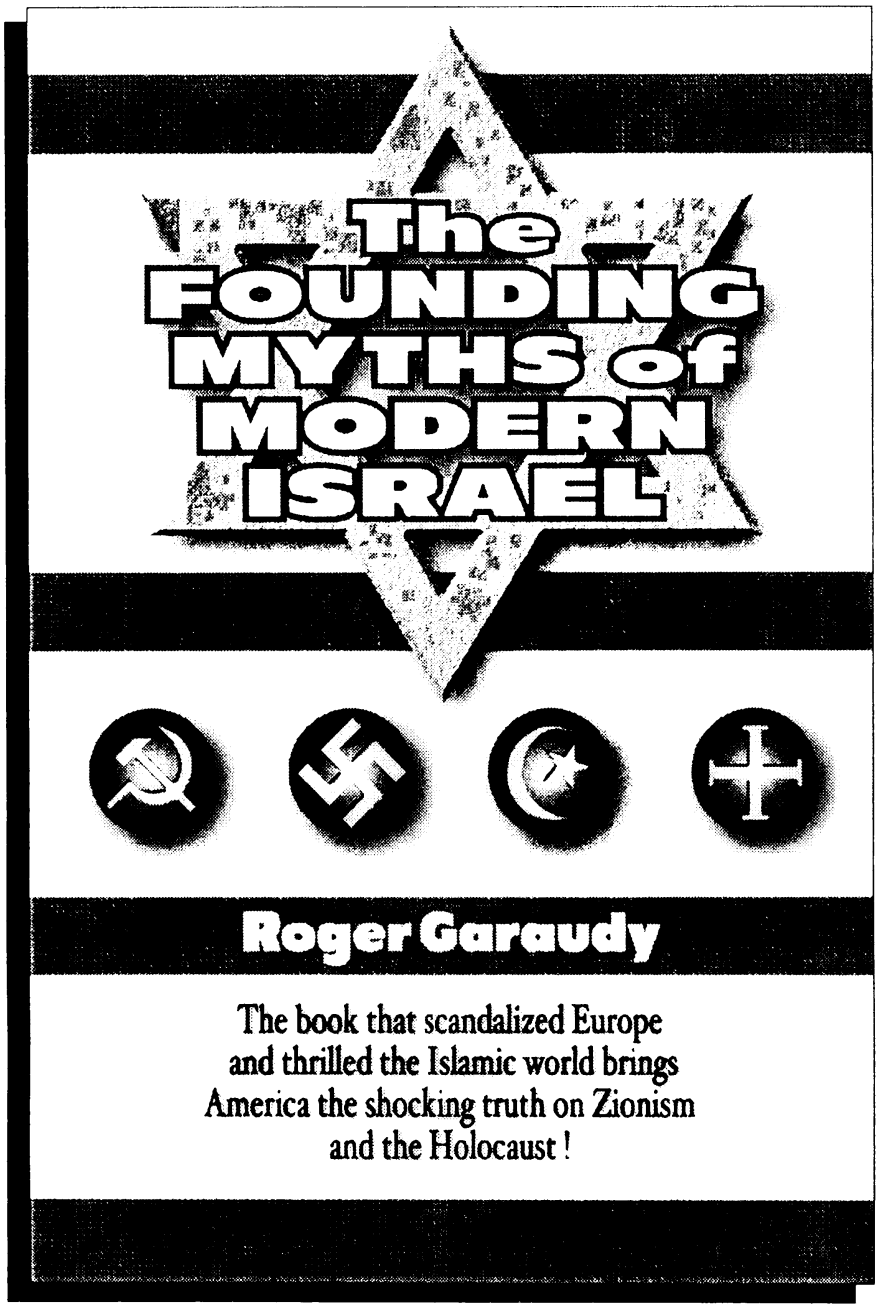
Changing Perspectives on History in Germany

Unmasking Zionism's Most Dangerous Myths


The FOUNDING MYTHS of MODERN ISRAEL
Roger Garaudy
The book that scandalized Europe
and thrilled the Islamic world brings
America the shocking truth on Zionism
and the Holocaust!

In this headline-making work, a prominent French scholar delivers one powerful blow after another to the pernicious historical myths cited for decades to justify Zionist aggression and repression, including the Israeli legend of a "land without people for a people without land," and the most sacred of Jewish-Zionist icons, the Holocaust extermination story.

For financial gain, as an alibi for indefensible policies, and for other reasons, Jews have used what the author calls "theological myths" to arrogate for themselves a "right of theological divine chosenness." The wartime suffering of Europe's Jews, he contends, has been elevated to the status of a secular religion, and is now treated with sacrosanct historical uniqueness.

This readable, thoroughly documented study examines the brutal dispossession and mass expulsion of Palestine's Arabs, exposes the farce of the Nuremberg victors' show trial, and shows that the notorious German "final solution" term referred to a "territorial" program of resettlement, not extermination. *Founding Myths* details the secret collaboration of prominent Jews with the young Nazi regime, and the 1941 offer by some Zionists, including a future Israeli prime minister, to join Hitler's Germany in a military alliance against Britain. The author presents a frank assessment of the powerful Jewish-Zionist lobby in the United States, showing how it effectively controls US policy regarding Israel, and plays a crucial role in shaping American public opinion.

For decades Roger Garaudy was prominent in the French Communist Party, making a name for himself as a Communist deputy in the French National Assembly, and as a leading Marxist intellectual and theoretician. Later he broke with Communism, eventually becoming a Muslim.

When *Founding Myths* first appeared in France, it touched off a storm of controversy among intellectuals and a furious uproar in the media. Soon Garaudy was charged with violating France's notorious Gayssot law, which makes it a crime to "contest" the "crimes against humanity" as defined by the Nuremberg Tribunal of 1945-46. A Paris court found him guilty and fined him $40,000. His trial and conviction for Holocaust heresy prompted wide international support, above all from across the Arab and Muslim world.

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IN THIS ISSUE

The 1945 Sinkings of the *Cap Arcona* and the *Thielbek* 2
Mark Weber

What Happened to the Jews Who Were Deported to Auschwitz But Were Not Registered There? 4
Jürgen Graf

On the 1944 Deportations of Hungarian Jews 19
Arthur R. Butz

Changing Perspectives on History in Germany 29

A Deceitful Swipe at the IHR 33

Peenemünde and Los Alamos: Two Studies 34
Donald E. Tarter

Build Soil 48

The Great Challenge Facing the West 49

The Cost of Israel to American Taxpayers 52
Richard H. Curtiss

Letters 55

On the cover: Hungarian Jews upon arrival at Auschwitz-Birkenau, late May or early June 1944. This photograph was taken by a German photographer from the roof of one of rail cars that brought these deportees. A veteran camp inmate, wearing a striped uniform, can be seen in the foreground talking with one of the new arrivals. This photo is from *The Auschwitz Album* (1981), p. 15, one of some 185 published in this book.

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The 1945 Sinkings of the *Cap Arcona* and the *Thielbek*

Allied Attacks Killed Thousands of Concentration Camp Inmates

Mark Weber

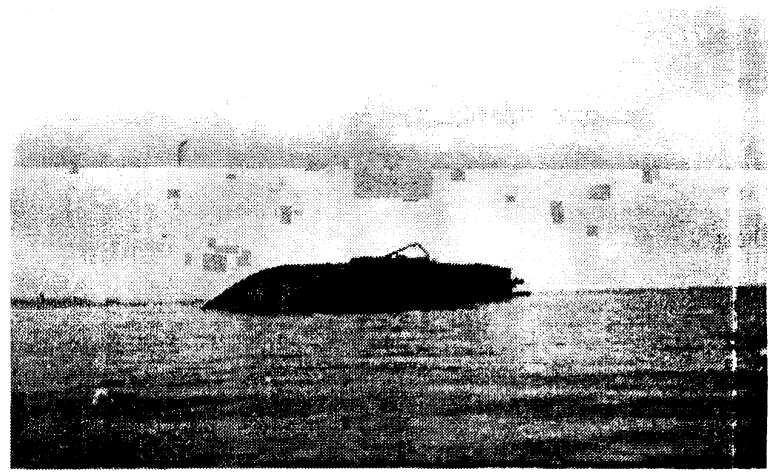
All prisoners of German wartime concentration camps who perished while in German custody are routinely regarded as "victims of Nazism" — even if they lost their lives as direct or indirect result of Allied policy. Similarly, all Jews who died in German captivity during World War II — no matter what the cause of death — are counted as "victims of the Holocaust."

This view is very misleading, if not deceitful. In fact, many tens of thousands of camp inmates and Jews lost their lives as direct and indirect victims of Allied action, or of the horrors of the Second World War. For example, the many thousands of Jews who perished in the notorious Bergen-Belsen camp during and after the final months of the war in Europe, including Anne Frank, were primarily victims not of German policy, but rather of the turmoil and chaos of war.

Among the German concentration camp prisoners who perished at Allied hands were some 7,000 inmates who were killed during the war's final week as they were being evacuated in three large German ships that were attacked by British war planes. This little-known tragedy is one of history's greatest maritime disasters.

The *Cap Arcona*, launched in May 1927, was a handsome passenger ship of the "Hamburg-South America" line. At 27,000 gross registered tons, it was the fourth-largest ship in the German merchant marine. For twelve years — until the outbreak of war in 1939 — she had sailed regularly between Hamburg and Rio de Janeiro. In the war's final months she was pressed into service by the German navy to rescue refugees fleeing from areas in the east threatened by the Red Army. This was part of a vast rescue operation organized by the German navy under the supervision of Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz. All but unknown in the United States today, this great undertaking saved countless lives. The *Thielbek*, a much smaller ship of 2,800 gross registered tons, was also used to transport refugees as part of the rescue operation.

In April 1945, Karl Kaufmann, *Gauleiter* of Hamburg and Reich Commissioner for merchant shipping, transferred the *Cap Arcona* and the *Thielbek* from naval command, and ordered them to Neustadt Bay in the Baltic Sea near the north German city of Lübeck.



The wreck of the *Cap Arcona* in Neustadt Bay, about 1947.

Some 5,000 prisoners hastily evacuated from the Neuengamme concentration camp (a few miles southeast of Hamburg) were brought on board the *Cap Arcona* between April 18 and 26, along with some 400 SS guards, a naval gunnery detail of 500, and a crew of 76. Similarly the *Thielbek* took on some 2,800 Neuengamme prisoners. Under the terrible conditions that prevailed in what remained of unoccupied Germany during those final weeks, conditions for the prisoners on board the two vessels were dreadful. Many of the tightly packed inmates were ill, and both food and water were in very short supply.

On the afternoon of May 3, 1945, British "Typhoon" fighter-bombers, striking in several attack waves, bombarded and fired on the *Cap Arcona* and then the *Thielbek*. The two ships, which had no military function or mission, were flying many large white flags. "The hoisting of white flags proved useless," notes the *Encyclopedia of the Third Reich*. The attacks were thus violations of international law, for which — if Britain and not Germany had been the vanquished power — British pilots and their commanders could have been punished and even executed as "war criminals."

The *Thielbek*, struck by rockets, bombs and machine gun fire, sank in just 15-20 minutes. British planes then fired on terror-stricken survivors who were struggling in rescue boats or thrashing in the cold sea. Nearly everyone on board *the Thielbek* perished quickly, including nearly all the SS guards, ship's officers and crew members. Only about 50 of

the prisoners survived.

The burning *Cap Arcona* took longer to go under. Many inmates burned to death. Most of those who were able to leap overboard drowned in the cold sea, and only some 350-500 could be rescued. During the next several days hundreds of corpses washed up on nearby shores, and were buried in mass graves. Having sunk in shallow water, the wreck of the capsized *Cap Arcona* remained partially above water as a grim reminder of the catastrophe.

A German reference work, *Verheimlichte Dokumente*, sums up:

> A particularly barbaric Allied war crime was the bombing on May 3, 1945, by British Royal Air Force planes of the passenger ships *Cap Arcona* and *Thielbek* in the Lübeck bay, packed with concentration camp inmates. Among the many 'nameless' victims were many prominent political figures, a fact that is hushed up today because the fact that concentration camp inmates, many of them resistance fighters against Hitler, perished as victims of the terror of the 'liberators' does not conform to the portrayal of the 'reeducators'.

Another reference work, *Der Zweite Weltkrieg* (1985), notes:

> A unique tragedy is the end on May 3, 1945, of the 'Hamburg-South' passenger steamship *Cap Arcona* and the steamship *Thielbek*, both carrying concentration camp prisoners on board who believed that they were saved, but who were now bombed in the Neustadt Bay by Allied air planes. On the *Cap Arcona* alone, more than 5,000 perished — ship personnel, concentration camp inmates, and SS guards.

The deaths on May 3, 1945, of some 7,000 concentration camp prisoners — victims of a criminal British attack — remains a little-known chapter of World War II history. This is all the more remarkable when one compares the scale of the disaster with other, much better known maritime catastrophes. For example, the well-known sinking of the great British liner *Titanic* on April 15, 1912, took "only" 1,523 lives.

Actually, among the greatest naval disasters in history are the Baltic Sea sinkings of three other German vessels by Soviet submarines in the first half of 1945: the *Wilhelm Gustloff*, on January 30, 1945, with the loss of at least 5,400 lives, mostly women and children; the *General Steuben* on February 10, 1945, with the loss of 3,500, mostly refugees and wounded soldiers; and, above all, the *Goya* on April 16, 1945, taking the lives of some 7,000 refugees and wounded soldiers.

A few of the many bodies of concentration camp inmates that washed up on shore in the days following the attack on May 3, 1945, by British war planes on the *Cap Arcona* and the *Thielbek*.

Sources: Fritz Brustat-Naval, *Unternehmen Rettung* (Herford: Koheler, 1970), pp. 197-201; C. Zentner & F. Bedürftig, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Third Reich* (New York: Da Capo, 1997), pp. 126, 644-645, 952; W. Schütz, Hrsg., *Lexikon: Deutsche Geschichte im 20. Jahrhundert* (Rosenheim: DVG, 1990), pp. 66, 455; Dr. Bernhard Steidle, Hrsg., *Verheimlichte Dokumente*, Band 2 (Munich: 1995), pp. 212, 230; "Britische RAF mordete Tausende KZ-Häftlinge," *National-Zeitung* (Munich), May 19, 2000, p. 11; Kay Dohnke, "5 Minuten, 50 Meter, 50 Jahre: Gedenken an die Cap Arcona, nach einem halben Jahrhundert," *taz: die tageszeitung* (Hamburg Ausgabe), May 3, 1995, also on line at http://www.theo-physik.uni-kiel.de/~starrost/akens/texte/diverses/arcona.html; "The Cap Arcona, the Thielbek and the Athen," on line at http://www.rrz.uni-hamburg.de/rz3a035/arcona.html; Konnilyn G. Feig, *Hitler's Death Camps* (New York: 1981), p. 214; Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust* (New York: 1986), p. 806; M. Weber, "Bergen-Belsen: The Suppressed Story," May-June 1995 *Journal of Historical Review*, pp. 23-30; M. Weber, "History's Little-Known Naval Disasters," March-April 1998 *Journal*, p. 22.

For further reading, these books are available: Rudi Goguel, *Cap Arcona* (Frankfurt/Main: Röderberg, 1972); Günter Schwarberg, *Angriffsziel Cap Arcona* (Hamburg: Stern-Buch, 1983/ Göttingen: Steidi, 1998), with portions on line at http://www.reger-online.de/buchcd/w7506002.htm; Wilhelm Lange, *Cap Arcona: Dokumentation* (Eutin: Struve, 1988).

"By writing you learn how to write."
— Latin proverb

"May your life be filled with lawyers."
— Mexican curse

Insights on the 1944 Deportations of Hungarian Jews

What Happened to the Jews Who Were Deported to Auschwitz but Were Not Registered There?

JÜRGEN GRAF

1. Introduction

According to the standard or official version of 20th century history, millions of European Jews were murdered in gas chambers at Auschwitz and other German wartime camps during the Second World War. This mass killing was supposedly carried out as part of a systematic policy by Third Reich Germany to exterminate Europe's Jews.

In support of this view, orthodox "Holocaust" historians cite nothing beyond "eyewitness" testimonies — testimonies that contradict each other in every possible way, and are full of technical, natural-scientific, and logical impossibilities.[1]

Factual or documentary proof for a German policy to exterminate Europe's Jews, or for the existence of homicidal gas chambers, simply does not exist. On the contrary, the huge amount of wartime German documents not only provides no proof for the existence of an extermination policy, they point to the contrary. To cite just one example: German wartime documents in the archives of the Auschwitz State Museum in Poland show that 15,706 wartime camp prisoners, nearly all of them Jewish, received medical care at the hospital of the Auschwitz III (Monowitz) camp between July 1942 and June 1944. Of these prisoners, 766 died in the hospital, while the rest of them were released.[2] This fact simply doesn't square with an extermination policy.

Jürgen Graf addresses the 13th IHR Conference, May 28, 2000.

The on-site forensic examinations carried out by revisionists show that the "eyewitness" accounts of mass murder, as well as the alleged disposition of the corpses, are impossible. These technical-scientific investigations also establish that the alleged "gas chamber" rooms or spaces were not constructed for homicidal purposes and, for structural-technical reasons, could not have been utilized as killing chambers. Moreover, the capacities of the crematories — insofar as they existed at a given camp — were woefully inadequate to cremate the vast number of corpses of the alleged victims.[3]

Jürgen Graf, born in 1951, is a Swiss educator who makes his home near Basel. A researcher with an impressive command of languages, he is also the author of several books. His "Holocaust on the Test Stand" book has appeared in German, French, Spanish, Dutch, Bulgarian, Italian, Russian and Arabic editions. In March 1993, following publication of the 112-page German edition, *Der Holocaust auf dem Prüfstand*, he was summarily dismissed from his post as a secondary school teacher of Latin and French. (See "Swiss Teacher Suspended for Holocaust Book," Sept.-Oct. 1993 *Journal*, pp. 36-37.) In December 1994 the French-language edition, *L'Holocauste au scanner*, was banned in France by order of the country's Interior Ministry. Some 200,000 copies of an expanded edition of this work have been published and distributed in Russia under the title "The Myth of the Holocaust." (See "A Major Revisionist Breakthrough in Russia," July-August 1997 *Journal*, pp. 36-37.)

Graf's address to the Twelfth IHR Conference (1994), "The Social and Political Impact of the Holocaust Campaign in Today's Europe," was published in the Nov.-Dec. 1995 *Journal*.

In July 1998 he was sentenced to 15 months imprisonment, and to pay a large fine, because of his writings. (See "Swiss Court Punishes Two Revisionists," in the July-August 1998 *Journal*, pp. 2-13, esp. pp. 9-10.)

This essay, translated by Russ Granata and Jürgen Graf, is adapted from his address at the 13th IHR Conference (May 2000).

Those who defend the "Holocaust" story of Jewish extermination and mass killings in gas chambers have no coherent response to the results of revisionist research. In particular, they have no response to the forensic findings of the revisionist experts. Alone among the "exterminationists," French researcher Jean-Claude Pressac has attempted to prove systematically that mass killings in gas chambers, as well as the cremation of the alleged number of bodies, was technically possible.[4] His arguments have been refuted in great detail by Robert Faurisson and Carlo Mattogno.[5] Anyone may compare for himself the arguments and evidence presented by each side on this issue. Such a comparison speaks for itself.

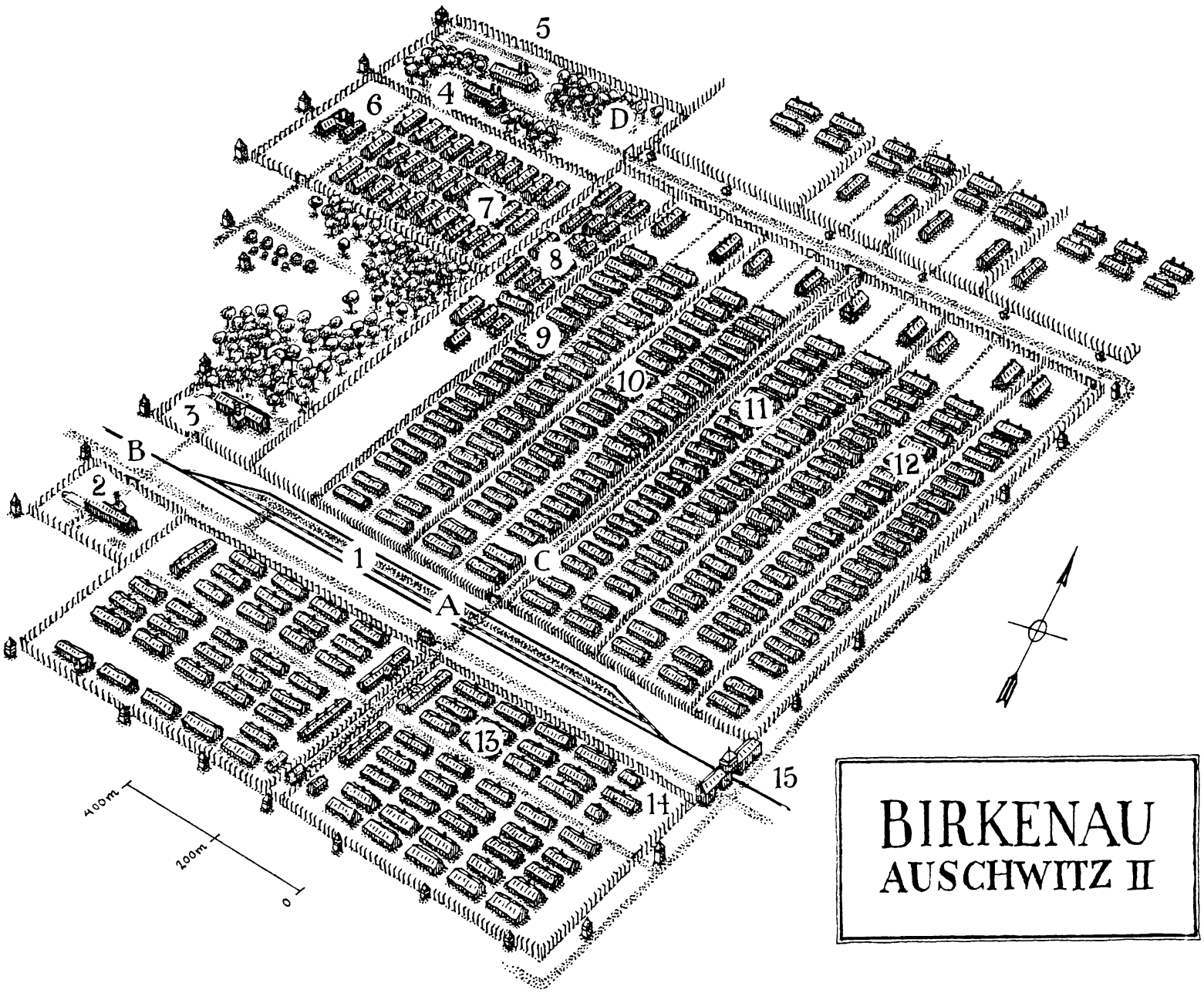
In discussions with opponents and skeptics, revisionists are invariably confronted with the question: "If they weren't killed, what happened to the missing Jews?" This question deserves serious consideration. We revisionists should not be content merely to refute the official "Holocaust" story; we should also attempt to explain, as clearly as possible, what actually did occur. Naturally, this involves the question of the whereabouts of the missing Jews.

In this paper, I deal with the question of the fate of Jews who were deported to Auschwitz, but were not registered there. At the outset I want to say that no one is able to provide a complete answer to this question. If we possessed documents that clarified this issue, this paper would be unnecessary. As it happens, documents on this aspect of camp history are very spotty and incomplete. For the time being we are therefore obliged to deal, for the most part, with hypotheses, and to point to tasks that revisionists will likely confront in the future.

The first, or "destructive" phase of revisionist work — the refutation of the official "Holocaust" story — is largely behind us. It is now time to concentrate on the second, and more difficult, "constructive" phase, which is to provide a more complete picture of the actual fate of Europe's Jews during the Second World War. Although authors such as Arthur Butz, Walter Sanning, Steffen Werner, Enrique Aynat and Jean-Marie Boisdefeu have already carried out some pioneering work, this second phase of revisionist research is still in its beginning.

2. An 'Official' Account of the Numbers of Jews Deported to Auschwitz

Shortly after the Red Army's takeover of the Auschwitz camp in January 1945, the Soviets told the world that four million persons had died there.[6] Although this absurd figure was widely cited in the West, and was officially defended in Poland until 1990, few Western historians accepted it. Then, in 1993, the head of the historical research division of Poland's Auschwitz State Museum, Franciszek Piper, presented new estimates of the numbers of Auschwitz victims, figures that represented a sharp reduction in the "official" figures.[7] Piper's 1993 publication on the numbers of Auschwitz victims is the most carefully researched study on this issue presented so far by an "orthodox" historian. In contrast to historians such as Raul Hilberg, who don't deem it necessary to provide evidence or sources for their numbers,[8] Piper explained in some detail how he arrived at his figures.



Features of Birkenau camp (Auschwitz II):
1. Rail siding and "selection" ramp 2. Crematory facility (*Krema*) II 3. Crematory facility (*Krema*) III 4. Crematory facility (*Krema*) IV 5. Crematory facility (*Krema*) V 6. "Disinfection and Disinfestation Facility," also known as the "Central Sauna" 7. "Canada" section, where inmates' belongings were sorted and stored. 8. Hospital or sick bay section 9. "Gypsy Camp" section 10. "Men's Camp" section 11. "Hungarian Camp" section 12. "Family camp" section 13. "Women's Camp" section 15. Entry gate for rail transport

Piper wrote that altogether 1.3 million prisoners were brought to Auschwitz, of whom only 400,000 were registered. Among those deported to the camp were 1,095,000 Jews, of whom 205,000 were registered and 890,000 were unregistered. According to Piper, of 400,000 registered Jewish and non-Jewish inmates, 200,000 survived interment in the camp — that is, half of them. Similarly, he estimated, about half of the registered Jewish prisoners — that is, about 100,000 — survived Auschwitz internment. Because nearly all the unregistered Jews are supposed to have been killed in gas chambers, Piper concludes that "at least 1,100,000 persons were killed or died in the camp."[9]

Holocaust researcher Jean-Claude Pressac has provided estimates of Auschwitz victims that are significantly lower than those of Piper. In the 1994 German-language edition of his second book Pressac estimates the total number of Auschwitz camp victims as between 631,000 and 711,000.[10] Interestingly, though, he was not permitted to cite these figures in an important semi-official anthology, *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*, a collection of two-dozen essays by Pressac and various "orthodox" Holocaust historians.[11] Considering these circumstances, one can conclude that Piper's estimates

reflect the current "official" historiography.

Piper's estimates of the numbers of *registered* inmates at Auschwitz (both Jewish and non-Jewish) are well-grounded. With regard to the number of the deceased among these inmates, however, revisionist researchers Carlo Mattogno and Franco Deana arrive at a lower figure. In 1994 they estimated the total number of *registered* prisoners — both Jews and non-Jews — who died at Auschwitz at 160,000 to 170,000.[12] (Mattogno, the leading revisionist specialist on Auschwitz, is currently working on a detailed study on the mortality rate at the camp in which he slightly reduces his 1994 figures.)[13]

Jean-Claude Pressac

With regard to the number of victims among the *registered* prisoners at Auschwitz, the leading "exterminationist" expert (Piper) and the most knowledgeable revisionist specialist (Mattogno) thus arrive at figures that, while they differ by 30,000 to 40,000, essentially agree on the order of magnitude. However, the situation is radically different regarding *non-registered* prisoners. Piper contends that in addition to 890,000 un-registered Jews at Auschwitz, there were also approximately 15,000 un-registered non-Jews at the camp.

For most of the European countries of origin, the contemporary wartime German documents show rather clearly just how many Jews were deported to Auschwitz. We know, for example, that more than 75,000 Jews were deported from France, of whom 69,000 were sent to Auschwitz.[14] Similarly reliable documentation shows just how many Jews were deported to Auschwitz from most of the European states of origin. For these countries, Piper's figures can hardly be contested. Not so clear, however, are his estimates of the number of deportees from the two countries from where, by far, the largest number of Jews arrived — namely Hungary and Poland.

Telegrams sent to Berlin in 1944 by Germany's special ambassador in Budapest, Edmund Veesenmayer,[15] put the number of deported Hungarian Jews at 437,000. In his classic revisionist work *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, Arthur Butz contends that at least some of the Veesenmayer dispatches are forgeries, and that the actual number of Jewish deportees from Hungary is much lower — only a fraction of what has been claimed.[16] I will go into this matter in more detail, but at this point I shall simply state that the Butz thesis, which I had endorsed in my book *Der Holocaust Schwindel*,[17] is probably not valid. I now accept the number of 437,000 deported Hungarian Jews as a working hypothesis.

Piper estimates the number of Polish Jews deported to Auschwitz at 300,000, a figure that is certainly too high. In support of this, he refers to the *Kalendarium*, an important, semi-official Polish work about Auschwitz compiled by Danuta Czech.[18] Piper puts the number of deportees from Poland at 225,000, and adds to this some 55,000 to 65,000 Jews deported from Lodz to Auschwitz who were overlooked by Czech. Piper therefore concludes that a total of 280,000 to 290,000 Polish Jews were deported to Auschwitz, a figure that he rounds off to 300,000. But in reality the *Kalendarium* figure of 225,000 must be reduced by at least some 43,000 because approximately 30,000 Jews arrived at Auschwitz from Polish labor camps, and are thus counted twice. Another 13,000 Polish Jews who were allegedly deported to Auschwitz in sealed cars and led to the gas chambers without selection only exist in the tales of "eyewitnesses"; they are, so to speak, "non-existing persons," as George Orwell would put it. And finally, the number of Jews brought from Lodz to Auschwitz was not more than approximately 20,000.[19] For these reasons, the figure of 300,000 Polish Jews (allegedly) transported to Auschwitz is greatly inflated, and must be reduced by around 100,000.

To summarize: According to Franciszek Piper, 1.1 million Jews were deported to Auschwitz — of whom 300,000 were Polish Jews. From this latter figure we subtract 100,000, while at the same time accepting his figures for all other countries, including Hungary (at least provisionally), and arrive, therefore, at about a million Jews deported to that largest of the German concentration camps. Of these, 200,000 were registered. According to Piper, half of them survived the camp, while Mattogno and Deana arrive at a higher percentage of survivors. Therefore, there remain some 800,000 Jews who arrived at Auschwitz but were not registered there (at least according to the camp records). According to official historiography, virtually all of these unregistered Jews were gassed in Auschwitz. According to the 1944 Veesenmayer telegrams from Budapest to Berlin, more than half of this 800,000, namely 410,000, arrived at Auschwitz from Hungary, of whom only 28,000 were registered in the camp.

I shall return to the question of the Hungarian Jews in the final part of this paper, but for now I turn to the fate of the non-registered Jews from other countries.

3. The Non-registered Jewish Prisoners from Countries Other than Hungary

It is well known that many wartime German documents speak of the "evacuation" ("*Evakuierung*") or "expulsion" ("*Abschiebung*") of the Jews. A good example is the August 21, 1942, memorandum by Martin Luther, a high-ranking official (*Unterstaatssekretär*) in the German Foreign Office (and who represented it at the January 1942 Wannsee Conference). Referring to a decision by Hitler two years earlier to remove the Jews from Europe, Luther wrote:[20]

> The principle of the German Jewish Policy after the [National Socialist] assumption of power was to promote Jewish emigration by all means ... The present war gives Germany the opportunity and also the duty to solve the Jewish question in Europe ... The evacuation [*Evakuierung*] of the Jews from Germany began on the basis of the above-mentioned Führer directive [*Führerweisung*]. It was logical to include immediately the Jewish citizens of the countries that had also adopted anti-Jewish measures ... The number of Jews deported [*abgeschobenen*] in this way to the East did not suffice to cover the labor needs there.

Historians who contend that "evacuation" and "relocation" are sinister camouflage terms for "extermination," will have some difficulty explaining the remark in Luther's memo that "the number of Jews deported in this way to the East did not suffice to cover the labor needs there."

Even more problematic for Holocaust historians, perhaps, is the deportation of a considerable number of Jews from western European countries to the occupied Soviet territories (notably to the Baltic lands and Belarus). Deportations of German and Czech Jews to Riga (Latvia) and Minsk (Belarus) have been dealt with in detail by Raul Hilberg, who also emphasizes in his three-volume study the economic importance of Jewish prisoners working in those territories. He writes, for example, of "a widespread demand for Jewish workers," and that in Riga German and Latvian Jews worked for the SS, the army, the navy, the air force, the railroad, and in commercial enterprises.[21]

Jews were being deported from Germany to Riga in December 1941. In that same month, according to orthodox historiography, the first so-called "extermination camp" was opened at Chelmno, and in March of 1942, a second "extermination camp" supposedly began operation at Belzec. Given that a camp does not appear overnight, the decision to build Chelmno and Belzec must have been made quite some time earlier. In Hilberg's view, everything points to a decision having been made by Hitler before the end of the Summer of 1941 to annihilate the Jews, that is, at least two months before the deportation of German Jews to Riga and Minsk.[22] If so, why then were Jews who were supposedly destined for extermination deported from Germany to far-off Riga and Minsk rather than to the much closer "extermination camps" of Chelmno and Belzec? The argument that they were temporarily spared because they were needed as workers in the occupied Soviet territories simply does not hold up. As Hilberg reports, many of these German Jewish deportees were "cripples, war invalids, and people over 70 years of age"[23] who were utterly unsuited for employment. Such people would "logically" have been sent straight to the "extermination camps" (if such existed).

In October 1942 Switzerland's main Jewish community weekly, the *Israelitisches Wochenblatt für die Schweiz,* reported:[24]

> For some time there has been the tendency to dissolve the ghettos in Poland. That was the case with Lublin, and now Warsaw is to follow. It is not known to what extent this plan has already been carried out. The previous inhabitants of the ghettos are going off farther to the East into the occupied Russian territory. They were partially replaced by Jews from Germany ... An eyewitness, who until recently was in Riga and was able to escape, reports that there are still 32,000 Jews in the Riga ghetto. Since the occupation, thousands of Jews died. The Jews must assemble in the morning for compulsory labor outside the city ... Recently, in Riga, it has been noticed that transports of Jews from Belgium and other western European countries, which, however immediately go on further to unknown destinations.

The official "Holocaust" literature is silent about the transport of Polish Jews to the occupied Soviet territories. The Polish Jews evacuated from the ghettos are supposed to have been gassed in "extermination camps." Nor is there any mention in the official literature of the deportation of Belgian Jews to Riga. According to the *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, for example, "by far the greater part of the [Jewish] deportees [from Belgium] perished in Auschwitz; some small groups were also sent to Buchenwald, Ravensbrück and Bergen-Belsen."[25] As we have seen, the *Israelitisches Wochenblatt* also mentions in October 1942 transports of Jews from other western European countries to Riga, from where they go to unknown destinations. According to the official historiography, however, there were six extermination camps in October 1942. If so, why would the deported Jews have been transported far

to the east of the six "death centers" to the occupied Soviet territories? Defenders of the orthodox "Holocaust" story, who hold that the Belgian Jews would never have been allowed to reach the occupied Eastern territories, are simply unable to answer such elementary questions.

It is quite obvious that for many Jews from Belgium and other western European countries, Auschwitz served merely as a transit camp. The article from the Swiss Jewish weekly cited above is no isolated case. Two revisionist authors, the Spaniard Enrique Aynat and the Frenchman Jean-Marie Boisdefeu,[26] have found additional examples. Here are some of them:

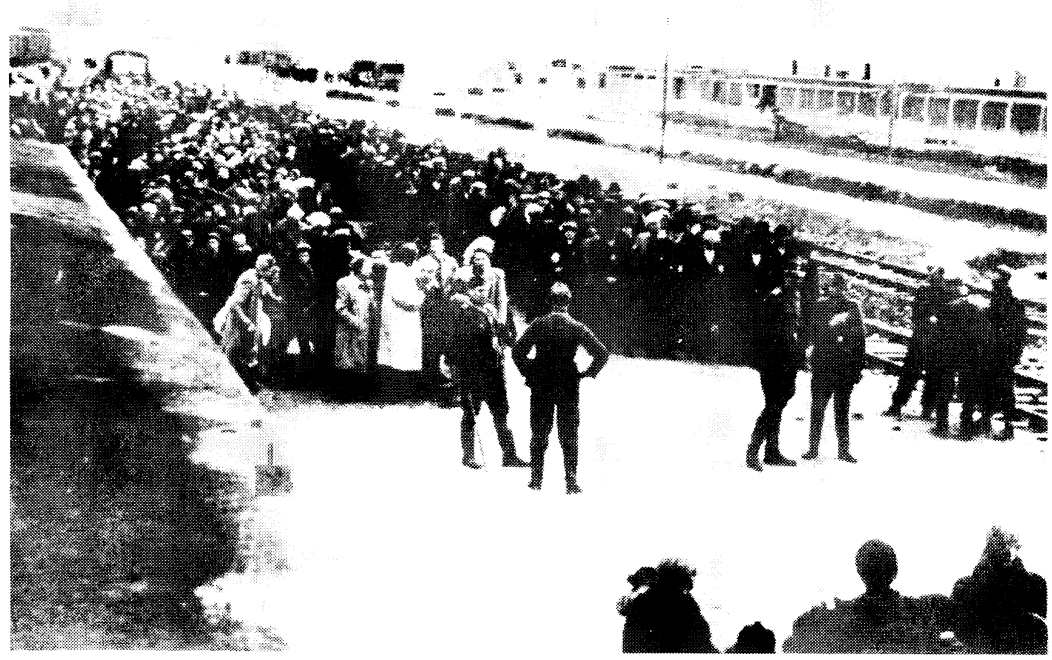
• A Slovak Jew, Gisi Fleischman, reported in March of 1943 that in the region of Lublin (Poland), he encountered other Slovak Jews, as well as Belgian Jews.[27]

• In 1942 Jews from Belgium, Netherlands and France arrived by train in Lvov (Lviv), Ukraine, according to testimony of the eyewitness I. Hertz provided in 1946 by the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee of the USSR.[28]

• The French Communist underground newspaper *Notre Voix* reported in its April 1944 issue:[29]

> News that will please all the Jews of France was broadcast by Radio Moscow. Who among us has not had a brother, a sister, a spouse or a parent among those deported from Paris? And who will not rejoice when he hears that 8,000 Paris Jews have been rescued by the glorious Red Army! One of them reported on Radio Moscow how he was saved from death together with 8,000 other Paris Jews. They all found themselves in Ukraine at the time of the latest Soviet offensive, and the SS bandits wanted to shoot them before they left the country.

One might object, of course, that such reports are not German wartime documents, and consequently are not conclusive. All the same, they give additional support to the thesis that Auschwitz also functioned as a transit camp. Why should an underground Communist newspaper in France have published in April of 1944 a false news report about Jews being rescued by the Red Army in Ukraine? And why should the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee of the Soviet Union have spread false information about deportations of French and Belgian Jews to Ukraine? There is no valid reason to believe such reports are false.



Newly arrived Hungarian Jews at Auschwitz-Birkenau, almost certainly in late May or early June 1944. Here the able-bodied Jews have been separated into two columns by sex, with women and children on the left, and men and boys on the right. Several SS men are visible. In the foreground are a few unemployable Jewish women and children. Birkenau's main rail entry gate can been seen in the background, to the left. This photo, taken by a German photographer from the roof of a rail car, is from *The Auschwitz Album* (1981).

In addition, some surviving German wartime documents also refer to the deportation of western European Jews to the occupied Soviet territories. On August 28, 1942, an SS conference on "the Jewish question" was held in Berlin, at which specific problems arising from the deportations were discussed. The official record of the conference included the following on deportations of stateless Jews from France:[30]

> During the course of the discussion, SS Lt. Colonel [*Obersturmbannführer*] Eichmann made known that the current evacuation problem (deportation of the stateless Jews) should be concluded by the end of this calendar year. The end of June 1943 is anticipated as a deadline for the deportation of the remaining foreign Jews ... Eichmann requested the immediate purchase of the barracks that had been ordered by the Commander of the Security Police in the Hague [Netherlands]. That camp is to be built in Russia. The transport of the barracks can be arranged so that three to

five barracks can be taken along with each transport train.

The implication of this document is clear: Only a portion of the Jews who had been deported from France to Auschwitz remained in the camp. The remainder were transported further east, namely to the occupied Eastern territories ("Russia"), where a camp was to be built for them. The barracks for this camp were to be transported by train.

In his *Mémorial de la Déportation des Juifs de France*, Serge Klarsfeld mentions a May 1944 transport of 878 French Jews to Tallinn (Reval), Estonia, as well as to Kaunas, Lithuania. Among the deported, there were also children between 12 and 15, of whom most were definitely too young to work. So why were they sent to the Baltic lands?

This is not the only documentary evidence to show that Jews who were unable to work were not killed in Auschwitz, but instead were taken further to the East. A July 1942 SS memo on Jewish deportations reports:[31]

> On July 20, 1942, SS Lt. Colonel Eichmann and SS First Lieutenant [*Obersturmführer*] Nowak of the Reich Security Main Office [RSHA] IV B4 [Jewish affairs section] telephoned. With SS Lt. Colonel Eichmann, the question of the relocation of children was discussed. He decided that as soon as transport into the [Polish] *Generalgouvernement* is once again possible, transports of children would roll. SS First Lieutenant Nowak assured that by late August or early September approximately six transports would be possible into the *Generalgouvernement*. They would contain all types of Jews (including those unable to work and the elderly).

This memorandum refers to the transport of Jewish children as well as unemployable and elderly Jews into the *Generalgouvernement*. Auschwitz was not in the *Generalgouvernement*, but rather in a portion of south-western Poland that had been annexed to Germany in 1939. Unemployable and elderly Jews were not gassed in Auschwitz, but rather were sent further eastward, undoubtedly to be billeted there in a ghetto. The objection that they were perhaps murdered in an eastern extermination camp would be preposterous because there is no reason to divert such people from the "gas chambers" of Auschwitz in order to murder them in the "gas chambers" of Treblinka.

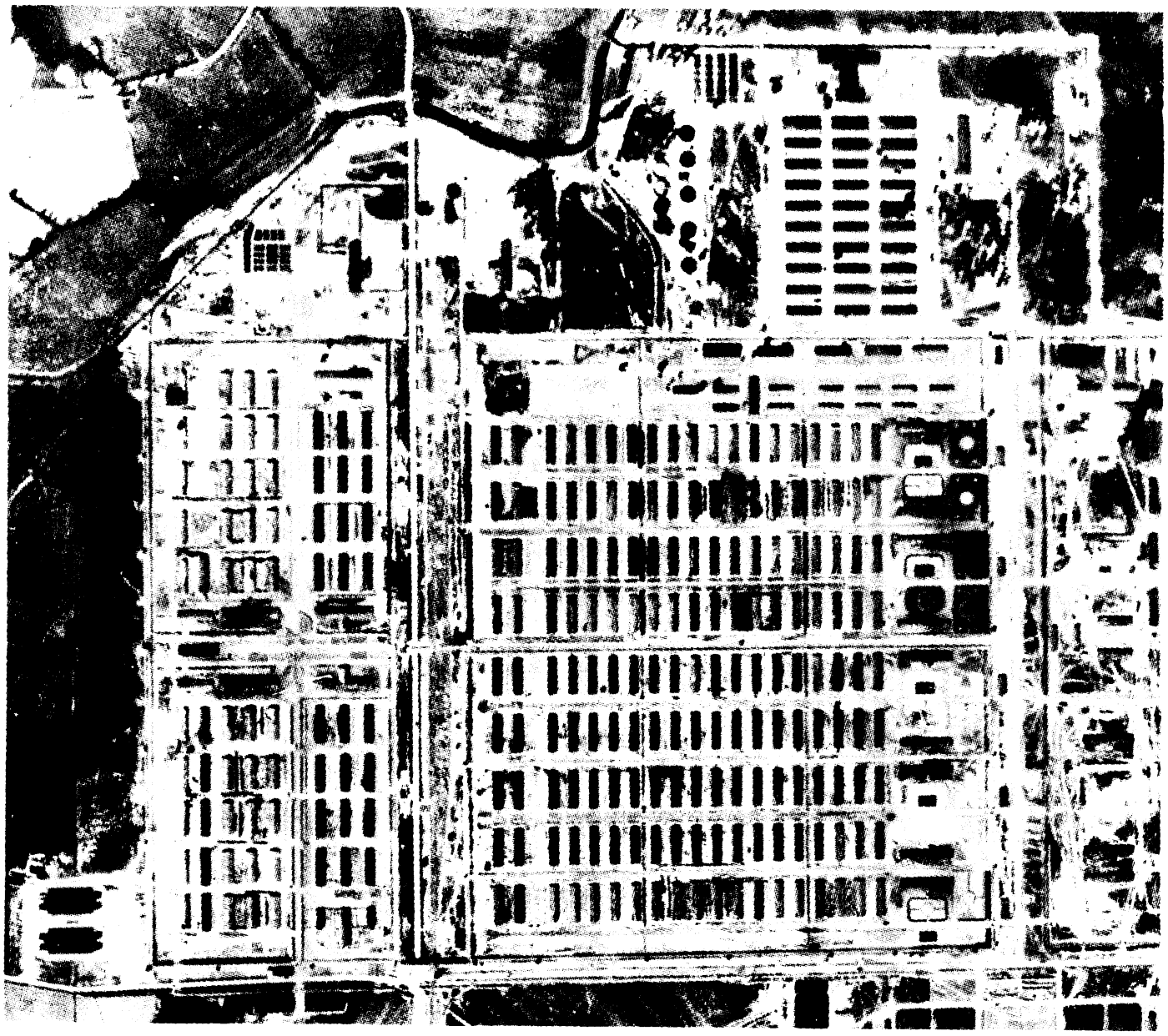
In 1945, I am convinced, the victorious Allies undertook measures to cull out German documents that were clearly at odds with Allied extermination claims, which is why documents such as those cited here are available only in sparse numbers. In all probability, this is the reason why almost no documents are available concerning the alleged extermination camps of Treblinka, Sobibor and Belzec. Almost certainly these three "Operation Reinhard" camps in the German-occupied *Generalgouvernement* territory were transit camps through which Jewish deportees — especially Polish Jews, but also a certain number of western European Jews — went on into the occupied Eastern territories.

According to official "Holocaust" historiography, Treblinka, Sobibor and Belzec functioned purely as extermination centers, in which *all* arriving Jews were immediately put to death (except for a handful of "working Jews" [*Arbeitsjuden*] who were temporarily spared). But there is no doubt that Treblinka, for example, functioned as a transit camp. This is corroborated by various eyewitness reports. For example, a Polish Jew named Samuel Zylbersztain reported some time after the end of the war that in 1943 he, together with some 500 other Jews, was transferred from Treblinka to Majdanek (Lublin).[32] But why were these 500 Jews deported to Majdanek? Certainly not to be gassed there. After all, he also survived this second "extermination camp." Indeed, he later survived eight additional (regular) concentration camps. He is yet another living witness that the Germans did not exterminate the Jews.

In an interesting book published in Germany in 1990, *Die zweite babylonische Gefangenschaft* ("The Second Babylonian Captivity"), Steffen Werner provides evidence for German wartime deportations of Jews from various countries to Belarus (Belorussia).[33]

Finally, I want to raise the question of the fate of the Jews who were deported to the occupied Soviet territories. Undoubtedly the mortality was very high due to the general wartime deprivations, especially given that many of the deportees were old and physically unable to work. It seems possible to me that many of the surviving Polish Jews opted to stay in the Soviet Union at the end of the war because Poland had been devastated during the war and because anti-Semitic feelings were rampant there. On the other hand, I think it unlikely that many surviving Jews from western European countries would have voluntarily remained in the Soviet Union.

Werner and Boisdefeu speculate that those western European Jews deported to the occupied Soviet territories who survived the war were probably rounded up by the Soviets and deported to Siberian camps. At that time Stalin and the Soviet regime already supported the myth of the annihilation of the Jews in gas chambers, and a massive return of Jews to western Europe from the USSR would have discredited that story. However, this is only specula-



The Birkenau camp, from an enlarged portion of an Allied aerial reconnaissance photograph taken on May 31, 1944. On this day, according to the official *Kalendarium* (or *Auschwitz Chronicle)*, thousands of newly arriving Hungarian Jews were killed here in gas chambers, supposedly located in crematory buildings (*Kremas*) II and III, visible at the upper left. However, as Jürgen Graf and others have pointed out, no trace of such mass killings can be found in this or any of the other aerial reconnaissance photos, fortuitously taken during what was supposedly the high point of alleged mass killings in the camp.

tion, and Werner and Boisdefeu are unable to prove this thesis. Such unanswered questions can presumably be clarified only through documents held in archives in Russia and in other countries of the former Soviet Union. There are reasons to hope that a future nationalist government in Russia will one day make such documents public. I do not need to spell out the obvious dramatic and politically important consequences of such a step.

4. The Non-Registered Hungarian Jews

It is generally accepted that Hungarian Jewry suffered from three big deportation waves in 1944.

• Between May 15 and July 9, mass deportations from the provinces were carried out. As already mentioned, Germany's special ambassador in Budapest, Edmund Veesenmayer, reported in telegrams to Berlin that altogether 437,000 Jews were deported to the Reich. This was about half of Hungary's Jewish population at the time. (In 1944 the Hungarian state was geographically far larger than it is today, because in 1939 and 1940 it had annexed portions of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Romania, which it lost again in 1945.) Conscious of the worsening military situation, and responding to protests from Allied and neutral governments, the Hungarian head of state, Miklos Horthy, ordered the deportations stopped on July 9, 1944. As a result, the Jews in the capital of Budapest, who were next slated for deportation, were spared.

• In the second half of June, 20,000 Hungarian Jews were deported to the Strasshof camp, near

Vienna. Most of them survived the war.[34]

• After the downfall of the Horthy government in October 1944, and the assumption of power by Ferenc Szalasi and his "fascist" Arrow Cross movement, thousands of Budapest Jews were force-marched to the border of the Reich to construct ramparts against Soviet tanks. A considerable number of them must have perished, but because these deaths are not so directly related to "the Holocaust," I shall not deal further with that here. I will confine myself to dealing with the first and most massive deportation wave.

According to the original version of the "Holocaust" story, all of the Hungarian Jews deported between May and July 1944 were sent to Auschwitz and gassed upon arrival, except some 28,000 Jews who were registered there. In a scholarly article published in 1983, French-Jewish historian Georges Wellers calculated that 409,640 Hungarian Jews were killed at Auschwitz-Birkenau.[35] In fact, Wellers' figure was a deliberate deception. Already in 1964, Polish historian Danuta Czech revealed, in the first edition of her Auschwitz *Kalendarium*, the existence of the so-called transit camp (*Durchgangslager*) in Auschwitz-Birkenau.[36] Under the date of July 14, 1944, she wrote:

> The unregistered Jews (the so-called 'transit Jews') neither received camp numbers, nor were they tattooed with numbers. They were temporarily billeted in the camp BIIc, the evacuated gypsy camp BIIe or a camp called 'Mexico' by the prisoners. This latter one was the unfinished third sector of the camp that on the plans was designated as BIII (*Bauabschnitt* III). This is where the women were billeted.

Under the date of August 22, 1944, Danuta Czech's *Kalendarium* reports that on that day there were 30,000 unregistered Hungarian Jews in the Birkenau "transit camp."[37] All this is irrefutable evidence that many Birkenau Jews were neither registered nor gassed, but instead were simply transferred elsewhere.

As to the number of victims among the Hungarian Jews deported to Auschwitz, the "orthodox" historians provide contradictory figures:

• According to the *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, "most of the Hungarian Jews were gassed in Birkenau shortly after their arrival." Prudently, however, no figure of these "gassed" Jews is given.[38]

• In his three-volume study, Raul Hilberg similarly contends that "the great majority" of the deportees from Hungary were "gassed" upon arrival at Auschwitz.[39] Further on in this same work, however, he contradicts himself, putting the total losses of Hungarian Jewry at "over 180,000,"[40] which implies that a clear majority of the deportees must have survived. But where and how? Hilberg mentions "several thousands" who were transferred elsewhere,"[41] but provides no information about the fate of the other Hungarian Jews who survived.

• Jean-Claude Pressac fixes (arbitrarily, it seems) the number of Hungarian Jews who died in Auschwitz at 292,000.[42]

All these figures are fundamentally impossible because cremating such masses of corpses in the purported eight-week time period was technically not feasible. Not even in the Third Reich were the laws of nature suspended. During the period of the deportation of Hungarian Jews to Birkenau, May-July 1944, four crematory facilities with a total of 46 muffles were in operation there. As Carlo Mattogno has established, the theoretical maximum capacity of the Birkenau crematories was 1,248 corpses per day.[43] For the entire 55-day period when Hungarian Jews were arriving at the camp (May 15 through July 9, 1944), the maximum theoretical cremation capacity would therefore have been about 68,640 bodies. In reality, even this figure is excessive. Thanks to the many wartime German documents on crematories and cremation that survived the war, we know that the crematory ovens often broke down and had to be repaired. Finally one must take into account that in addition to the hypothetical number of murdered Hungarian Jews, the corpses of other (non-Hungarian) prisoners who died during this same period had to be cremated as well. Even if we accept Hilberg's relatively low figure of 180,000 Hungarian Jews who died in Auschwitz-Birkenau, this is still about 111,0000 higher than the number of corpses that could have been cremated during this period.

Some "Holocaust" writers, apparently struck by such technical considerations, have greatly exaggerated Birkenau's crematory capacities. Citing eyewitness testimonies, such as those of Filip Müller,[44] they claim that the corpses of many of the alleged gassing victims were incinerated in open-air cremation pits (in the courtyard of crematory [*Krema*] V, and near crematories II and III, and "Bunker 2"). Thanks to a fortunate coincidence, Birkenau was twice photographed from the air by Allied reconnaissance aircraft on May 31, 1944,[45] a day when 15,000 Hungarian Jews arrived at the camp. Moreover, we are authoritatively told, some 184,000 Jews had arrived there from Hungary during the previous 14 days — an average daily total of some 13,000. The aerial reconnaissance photographs show not the slightest trace of the alleged extermination action: No trace of pits, no lines of people in front of the crematories, no evidence of open-air burning in the areas mentioned by witnesses.

The German documents of this period clearly reveal the reasons for the mass deportation of Hun-

garian Jews to the Reich: Germany urgently needed labor for armaments and other war-related enterprises. On May 9, 1944, Heinrich Himmler reported in a letter to the chief of the SS *Hauptamt* as well as the head of the SS central economic administration office (WVHA) that 10,000 soldiers were to be assigned to guard the workers engaged in the *Jäger* (pursuit plane) construction program, because otherwise "the placing, the guarding and the efficient employment of approximately 200,000 Jews" was impossible.[46] A report two days later further explained:[47]

> The Führer has ordered that for the guarding of the 200,000 Jews, the *Reichsführer* SS [Himmler] will dispatch 10,000 Waffen SS soldiers, with their officers and petty officers, who shall be detailed to the concentration camps of the Reich in order to employ them in the large constructions of the Organization Todt and other militarily important duties.

Jürgen Graf studies a text during a break at the 13th IHR Conference.

With regard to these 200,000 Jews, Himmler must have thinking of the Hungarian deportation action, which was about to begin, because at that time no other large-scale deportations of Jews was either underway or imminent.

On August 15, 1944, the Concentration Camp department of the SS central WVHA office reported that there were 524,286 inmates, and that an additional 612,000 prisoners were in the process of being added to the camp system. Of this latter group, 90,000 were Jews who were being brought in as part of the "Hungarian program (Jewish action)."[48]

In my opinion, these documents not only discredit the familiar claims of mass extermination in Birkenau — which was technically impossible anyhow — they also refute the thesis proposed by Arthur Butz in *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* that the 1944 Veesenmayer telegrams are, at least for the most part, forgeries.[49] In support of his thesis, he presents several points, perhaps the most important of which is the *Report of the International Committee of the Red Cross on its Activities During the Second World War*.[50] This detailed 1948 document makes no mention at all of mass deportations of Jews from Hungary in the spring and summer of 1944, and, rather to the contrary, reports that it was only in October 1944 that "the full tide of the great tribulations of the Hungarian Jews" began. Given that the ICRC delegates in Budapest were at that time housed in the same building as the Hungarian Jewish Council, it is unthinkable that the International Red Cross representatives could have failed to know of any large-scale measures being taken against Hungary's Jews.

I readily admit that I am at a loss to explain this mysterious ICRC report. But even among the Red Cross delegates there must have been incompetent persons, and it is to such a person that this report's defects should most probably be attributed.

The German wartime documents clearly suggest that hundreds of thousands of Hungarian Jews were deported, and that, therefore, the Veesenmayer telegram figure is not an exaggeration. Let's recall the figures: In May 1944, Himmler, referring to Hitler, spoke of 200,000 Jews who were to be employed in war-related work. On August 15, the ongoing integration of 90,000 Hungarian Jews into the camp system was reported, and a week later, 30,000 Jews from Hungary are reported to still be in the Birkenau "transit camp."

Given that a high percentage of the deported Hungarian Jews were either unemployable or only marginally employable, these figures suggest that altogether several hundred thousand Hungarian Jews were deported. As already mentioned, the Veesenmayer telegrams put the figure at 437,000. A forgery meant to discredit the Germans and/or Hungarians would have made sense only if the actual number had been much lower. If, for example, 350,000 Hungarian Jews had been deported, the difference would not have been important enough to justify such a sophisticated and elaborate forgery.

Another strong argument for the validity of the Veesenmayer telegram figure is that it is almost exactly corroborated by the wartime transportation lists provided by Laszlo Ferenczy, the chief of the Hungarian police. Ferenczy put the total number of Hungarian Jewish deportees at 435,000. These Ferenczy documents were submitted as evidence in the Eichmann trial in 1961 in Jerusalem.[51] When Carlo Mattogno and I visited the Hungarian National Archives in March 1999, we were told that the

transportation lists had disappeared from the cellar of some unidentified ministry. In a private conversation, one of Hungary's leading "Holocaust" experts confirmed this information, and confided to us that the "disappearance" of these documents was due to "political intrigue."

While one might suspect that these documents were hidden or destroyed because they show figures of deportees that are much lower than those that have been generally accepted. Although this possibility cannot be entirely excluded, it seems to me much more likely that the Ferenczy lists are embarrassing for the official historiography because they indicate the destination of the deportees. If the "missing" Ferenczy transport lists show that even a substantial minority of the deportees was not destined for Auschwitz, this would imply, of course, that the large-scale 1944 deportation of Hungarian Jews was not organized as part of any extermination program. (According to the official "Holocaust" story, Auschwitz was the only operational extermination camp between May and July 1944.)[52]

Important in this regard are the 1944 transport lists stored in the archive of the former Stutthof concentration camp. These records show that between June 29 and October 28, 1944, a total of 48,619 predominantly female Jewish prisoners arrived at the Stutthof camp (located east of Danzig/ Gdansk in present-day northern Poland). About half of these deportees — 25,043 — had arrived from two Baltic camps: Kaunas (Lithuania) and Riga (Latvia). These prisoners had been evacuated in the face the advancing Red Army. Almost as many — 23,566 — had arrived from Auschwitz.[53] For three of the large transports from Auschwitz (August 14, 16 and 28, 1944) we have more or less complete lists of the deportees, with names and nationalities. Over 99 percent of the deportees in the first two of these three transports were Jewish females from Hungary. How many of them had been registered in Auschwitz, and how many had been held in the Birkenau "transit camp" without being registered, remain unknown.

Remarkably, some of the Jewish women transferred to Stutthof from Kaunas and Riga were of Hungarian nationality. For example, more than 90 percent of the 793 Jewish women who made up the August 4 transport from Kaunas were originally from Hungary. A certain number of the 9,537 who arrived at Stutthof in the transports from Riga of August 9 and October 1 were likewise Hungarian Jewish women. It is quite possible that these Jewish females had first been sent to the Baltic region by way of Auschwitz, but it's equally possible that they were sent to Lithuania and Latvia directly from Hungary. In the Baltic lands they were doubtless employed in work that was important for the war economy, possibly for the Todt Organization, until the advance of the Red Army forced the Germans to evacuate them to Stutthof. There such Jewish females were employed in the numerous sub-camps, predominantly in industrial work, but some also in agriculture.[54]

Piece by piece, such document fragments provide an overall view of the important May-July 1944 period. Although many gaps still remain, a coherent and logical picture is emerging. Approximately 437,000 Jews were deported from Hungary. The was done, first of all, because at that time Germany desperately needed labor. (Virtually every able-bodied German man had been called to military service.) Furthermore, security considerations almost certainly played a role. At that time, an invasion of Hungary by the Red Army had become a real possibility, and Hungary's large Jewish population naturally (and understandably) would have sided with the Soviets. Auschwitz was the first destination for most, and perhaps nearly all, of the Jews deported from Hungary. Some 28,000 of these Jewish deportees were registered in Auschwitz, but the rest either remained in the Birkenau "transit camp" for some time or were soon distributed to various labor camps or labor units. In March 1999 in Budapest, Carlo Mattogno and I met in person with one of these wartime deportees. He told us that he had spent only a few days in Auschwitz before being sent to the Silesian labor camp of Gross-Rosen.

In the 1994 German edition of his second book, Jean-Claude Pressac writes:[55] "By the end of the war, according to the *Encyclopaedia Judaica,* Hungarian Jewish males and females were found in 386 concentration and labor camps, as well as in labor units, where they had survived a real martyrdom. They were seen everywhere, from a few hundred in the labor units to tens of thousands in the 'big' camps."

We see no reason to doubt the veracity of this statement. One of the most crucial unsolved problems is the question of where the unemployable Hungarian Jews were billeted. Birkenau simply could not accommodate all of them. We are not aware of documents about a camp situated outside Auschwitz where these people were housed. If such documents existed, they were most likely destroyed or hidden by the victors, as they were radically incompatible with the legend of the end of Hungarian Jews in Birkenau's gas chambers.

The fact that among the deported Hungarian Jews there was a certain number of children is due, most probably, to the German policy of not separating families. (Of course, it would have been better for these children if they had not been deported at all, but that's another matter.) The Jewish children were by no means murdered as "useless eaters," as

the official "Holocaust" history contends. Proof of this are the documents Mattogno and I found during our third research visit to Russian archives. I am referring in particular to a 217-page report written in early 1945, shortly after the Soviet liberation of Auschwitz. It was written, in German, under the auspices of the Soviets by four former camp inmates, the Jewish physicians Lebovits, Weil, Reich and Bloch. It contains more than a thousand names of Auschwitz prisoners, nearly all of them Jews, with information about each one's age and date of imprisonment. These prisoners had been in the Auschwitz hospital on January 27, 1945, when the Red Army took control of the camp. Among those patients are 97 boys and 83 girls in ages ranging from a few months to 15 years.[56] One was a three-year-old Hungarian Jewish boy, J. J. Malek, and another was an eleven-year-old Hungarian Jewish girl, R. M. Salomon.[57] The former had arrived at Auschwitz in May 1944, the latter in July of the same year. According to the official "Holocaust" story, these two Jewish children would never have lived to see the year 1945; they would have been gassed immediately upon arrival.

Under the present circumstances, it is of course not possible to determine the number of victims among the deported Hungarian Jews, but it was probably on the order of several tens of thousands. It is a well-known fact that countless prisoners succumbed to diseases in the chaotic final months of the war. At any rate, Jews were not exactly an endangered species in postwar Hungary. They almost completely dominated the Communist Party and the dreaded secret police during the first years of the brutal Soviet-imposed regime headed by the Jew Matyas Rakosi.[58] For a time in the early 1950s, there was only one non-Jew in the Central Committee of the ruling Hungarian Communist Party. (According to a popular joke of the time, he had been given this position to ensure that someone in the Central Committee would be able to sign death sentences on the Sabbath.)

5. Conclusion

With their historical and technical arguments, the revisionists have demolished the "Holocaust" extermination and gas chamber legends. But their task is far from complete. Thus far, they have only partly succeeded in demonstrating what really did happen to Europe's Jews during the Second World War.

Many revisionists regard Walter Sanning's 1993 book, *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*,[59] as the definitive answer to this question. And while Sanning has indeed produced an admirable work that no serious researcher can afford to ignore, what I said about Butz's *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* may equally apply to Sanning's demographic study: Even an outstanding work can contain errors. Sanning's book suffers from two flaws: The author does not take into account the "Korherr Report,"[60] the most important German wartime document about Europe's Jewish population, and he puts too much faith in Soviet sources. For example, he relies heavily on David Bergelson, head of the wartime Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, who said that more than 80 percent of the Soviet Jews were evacuated prior to the arrival of the advancing German forces, and therefore never came under German control. Sanning does not consider the possibility that Bergelson exaggerated the number of evacuated Soviet Jews to enhance the image of the Soviet regime as the "Savior of the Jews from Fascism." The declarations of a Soviet propagandist should be regarded with skepticism.

Decisive progress in the investigation of the fate of Europe's Jews during the Second World War, including reliable estimates of Jewish wartime losses, can be expected only after historians gain access to previously unknown documents from archives in eastern Europe and the former USSR. When I say "historians" I naturally mean the revisionists, because our opponents will not tackle this task.

Notes

1. See: Manfred Köhler, "Der Wert von Aussagen und Geständnissen zum Holocaust" in Ernst Gauss (Germar Rudolf), ed., *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte* (Tübingen: Grabert, 1994); Jürgen Graf, *Auschwitz: Tätergeständnisse und Augenzeugen des Holocaust* (Würenlos/Switzerland: Neue Visionen, 1994).
2. Panstwowe Muzeum w Oswiecimiu (Auschwitz State Museum archives), Syg. DAuI-III-5/1, 5/2, 5/3, 5/4.
3. Fred A. Leuchter, Jr., *[The Leuchter Report] An Engineering Report on the Alleged Execution Gas Chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek* (Toronto: Samisdat, 1988); Germar Rudolf, Germar (R. Kammerer + Armin Solms, eds.) *Das Rudolf Gutachten: Gutachten über die Bildung and Nachweisbarkeit von Cyanidverbindungen in den "Gaskammern" von Auschwitz* (London: Cromwell Press, 1993); Walter Lüftl, "The Lüftl Report," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1992-93, pp. 391-420.

   See also: Wolfgang Schuster, "Technische Unmöglichkeiten bei Pressac," *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen), June 1991, pp. 9-13; M. Weber, "Fred Leuchter: Courageous Defender of Historical Truth," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1992-93, pp. 421-428; Note also the testimony of Austrian engineer Wolfgang Fröhlich in the trial in Switzerland of Jürgen Graf and Gerhard Förster, in "Swiss Court Punishes Two Revisionists," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1998, pp. 2-4.
4. Jean-Claude Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and*

Operation of the Gas Chambers (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989); Jean-Claude Pressac, *Les crématoires d'Auschwitz: La machinerie du meurtre de masse* (Paris: CNRS, 1993).

5. Robert Faurisson, "Antwort an Jean-Claude Pressac," and, Carlo Mattogno, "Auschwitz: Das Ende einer Legende," both in *Auschwitz: Nackte Fakten: Eine Erwiderung an Jean-Claude Pressac* (Berchem, Belgium: VHO, 1996). Mattogno's study has been published in English: *Auschwitz: The End of a Legend* (IHR, 1994).

   Faurisson's detailed critique of Pressac is also published in French in *Revue d'Histoire Revisionniste*, No. 3, Nov.-Dec. 1990-Jan. 1991, pp. 65-154, and in English in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1991, pp. 25-66 (Part I), and Summer 1991, pp. 133-175 (Part II).

   Other reviews and analyses of Pressac's 1989 book that have appeared in *The Journal of Historical Review* include: M. Weber, Summer 1990, pp. 231-237; C. Mattogno, Winter 1990-91, pp. 461-485; Arthur Butz, "Some Thoughts on Pressac's Opus," May-June 1993, pp. 23-37; Serge Thion, "A French Scholar Responds to a Widely-Acclaimed Anti-Revisionist Work," July-August 1994, pp. 28 ff.

   See also: R. Faurisson, "An Orthodox Historian Finally Acknowledges: There Is No Evidence for Nazi Gas Chambers," July-August 1998 *Journal*, pp. 24-28; M. Weber, "Tell-Tale Documents and Photos from Auschwitz," Spring 1991 *Journal*, pp. 65-154; "'The Jewish World' Against Pressac," Jan.-Feb. 1996 *Journal*, p. 41.

6. Nuremberg document USSR-008. International Military Tribunal (IMT), Nuremberg "blue series," Vol. 39, pp. 241, 261; IMT, vol. 7, p. 589.
7. Franciszek Piper, *Die Zahl der Opfer von Auschwitz* (Verlag Staatliches Museum in Oswiecim, 1993). See also F. Piper, "The Number of Victims," in Y. Gutman and M. Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press [with the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC], 1994), pp. 61-76.
8. Hilberg claims that some 1.25 million people (one million Jews and 250,000 non-Jews) died in Auschwitz, but he gives no sources for his estimates. R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New York: Holmes & Meier ["Revised and definitive edition," 3 vols.], 1985), pp. 894, 1219. (German edition: R. Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden* [Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1997], pp. 955, 956.)
9. F. Piper, *Die Zahl der Opfer von Auschwitz* (cited above), pp. 200-202; F. Piper, "The Number of Victims," in Y. Gutman and M. Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (cited above), p. 71.
10. J.-C. Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz* (Munich/Zurich: Piper, 1994), p. 202. In the original French version, *Les crematoires d'Auschwitz* (CNRS, Paris 1993, p. 148), Pressac had mentioned a higher figure (775,000 to 800,000). See the remark by R. Faurisson in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1995, p. 24.
11. Y. Gutman and M. Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (cited above), pp. 183-245; R. Faurisson, "Zur englischen Ausgabe von Pressacs neuestem Buch," in *Auschwitz: Nackte Fakten* (cited above), p. 163.
12. Carlo Mattogno and Franco Deana, "Die Krematoriumsöfen von Auschwitz und Birkenau," in E. Gauss (G. Rudolf), ed., *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte* (cited above), p. 307.
13. This study is scheduled to appear in the summer of 2000.
14. Serge Klarsfeld, *Le Mémorial de la Déportation des Juifs de France* (Paris: 1978), without page numbering.
15. Nuremberg documents NG-5573, NG-5615, NG-5616. Cited in Arthur Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (IHR, 1997), pp. 155-156, and in, R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (cited above), p. 849.
16. A. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (cited above), pp. 152-158, 169 and 234, esp. pp. 158-160.
17. Basel: Gideon Burg Verlag, 1993.
18. F. Piper in *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (cited above), pp. 68, 74 (n. 47).

    Two editions of the *Kalendarium*: Danuta Czech, comp., *Auschwitz Chronicle: 1939-1945* (London/New York: I.B. Tauris, 1990); D. Czech, comp., *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau 1939-1945* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt [2nd ed.], 1989).
19. Detailed information on this will be provided by Carlo Mattogno in his forthcoming work about mortality in Auschwitz.
20. Nuremberg document NG-2586-J. Published, in German and English, in John Mendelsohn, ed., *The Holocaust: Selected Documents in Eighteen Volumes* (New York: Garland, 1982), vol. 11, pp. 148-186. English translation also published in Nuremberg Military Tribunals (NMT) "green series," Vol. 13, pp. 243-249, and in A. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (cited above), pp. 205-210.
21. Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (cited above, 1985 ed.), pp. 359-360. (German edition: R. Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden* [cited above], p. 377.)
22. R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (cited above, 1985 ed.), pp. 402, 406. (German edition: R. Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden* [cited above], pp. 420-421.)
23. R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (cited above, 1985 ed.), p. 359. (German edition : R. Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden* [cited above], p. 377.)
24. *Israelitisches Wochenblatt der Schweiz*, Oct. 16, 1942, No. 42, pp. 10-11. (Cited in M. Weber, "Belgium and its Jews During the War," *The Journal of Historical*

Review, March-April 1999, pp. 2 and 5, n. 11.)

25. Israel Gutman, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York: Macmillan, 1990), vol. 1, pp. 162-163. (German edition: E. Jäckel, P. Longerich, J. Schoeps, *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust* [Berlin: Argon, 1993], p. 170.)
26. Enrique Aynat, *Estudios sobre el "Holocausto": La deportación de judiós de Francia y Bélgica en 1942* (Valencia: Gráficas Hurtado, 1994); Jean-Marie Boisdefeu, *La Controverse sur l'Extermination des Juifs par les Allemands*, Tome 2: Réalités de la "Solution finale," (Berchem, Belgium: Vrij Historisch Onderzoek, 1996).
27. Enrique Aynat, *Estudios sobre el "Holocausto"* (cited above), p. 58. Source cited: Michael Dov Weissmandel, *Min Hametzar.* (On this, see also: Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *A Holocaust Reader* [New York: Behrman, 1976], pp. 318, 391.)
28. The Jewish Black Book Comm., *The Black Book: The Nazi Crime Against the Jewish People* (New York: 1946), pp. 198, 531 (n. 228). Cited in: E. Aynat, *Estudios sobre el "Holocausto"* (cited above), p. 58.
29. Facsimile reproduction in: J.-M. Boisdefeu, *La Controverse sur L'extermination des juifs par les Allemands* (cited above), Tome II, p. 86.
30. Facsimile in: J.-M. Boisdefeu, *La Controverse sur L'extermination des juifs par les Allemands* (cited above), Tome II, pp. 78-80.

    This report is Nuremberg document NG-1965 (RF-1228), and document XXVI-59 of the Centre de Documentation juive contemporaine (Paris). It is also published in: Peter Longerich, ed., *Die Ermordung der europäischen Juden: Eine umfassende Dokumentation des Holocaust, 1941-1945* (Munich and Zurich: Piper, 1990), pp. 241-243.
31. Vermerk. Paris, 21.7.1942. Betr.: Judenabschub. Facsimile in E. Aynat, *Estudios sobre el "Holocausto"* (cited above), p. 86. This memo is document DLXVI-7 or XXVI-46 of the Centre de Documentation juive contemporaine (Paris). It is apparently also Nuremberg document RF-1233. It is published in: P. Longerich, ed., *Die Ermordung der europäischen Juden* (cited above), p. 246.
32. Samuel Zylbersztain, "Pamietnik Wieznia dziesieciu obozow," in: *Biuletyn Zydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* (Warsaw), No. 68, 1968. On Treblinka's role as a transit camp, see also: M. Weber and A. Allen, "Treblinka," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1992, pp. 139-140.
33. Steffen Werner, *Die zweite babylonische Gefangenschaft: Das Schicksal der Juden im europäischen Osten* (Pfullingen: Selbstverlag, 1990). For example, Werner cites (on page 89) the following, from a book based on memoirs of Soviet partisans and German "anti-fascists" that was published in Communist East Berlin in 1976: "In the fraternal family of the Belorussian [Belarus] partisans, Czechs and Slovaks, French and Yugoslavs, Greeks and Dutch, Spaniards and Austrians, Germans and members of other nations fought courageously against fascism." (Source cited: *In den Wäldern Belorusslands* (Berlin [East]: 1976), p. 9.) How could anti-fascists from all these countries have come to Belarus if they were not deported there?

    Werner contends that millions of Jews were deported to Belarus (White Russia) during the war years, a view that I regard as impossible. In spite of some obvious defects, Werner's book is a good starting point for further research.
34. *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust* (cited above), p. 1467.
35. G. Wellers, "Essai de détermination du nombre des juifs morts au camp d'Auschwitz," in *Le Monde Juif*, Oct.-Dec. 1983, p. 153.

    For a critical look at Wellers' essay, see F. Piper, "The Number of Victims," in *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (cited above), pp. 67 ff.
36. D. Czech, "Kalendarium...," *Hefte von Auschwitz* (Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu), No.8, 1964.

    The 1990 English-language edition of the *Kalendarium* reports:

    > "In mid-May 1944, when the mass transports of Hungarian Jews start arriving in Auschwitz, the young, healthy, and strong Jews of both genders are dispersed for a time as so-called depot prisoners to various barracks at Birkenau, but are not recorded in the camp registers. They are accommodated in Camp B-IIIc [sic], where young, able-bodied female Jews are kept; in the recently vacated Gypsy Family Camp B-IIe, where young, able-bodied male and female Jewish prisoners are accommodated who eventually are taken to the other camps; in Camp B-IIb, which is empty since the liquidation of the Theresienstadt Family Camp; and finally, in Section B-III, still under construction, known as 'Mexico' to the prisoners and also intended for female Jews. The Jews temporarily located in Birkenau receive no I.D. numbers and are not tatooed. Selections are conducted at specific intervals: When the camp administration has a need for laborers, it sends some prisoners from these camps to specific auxiliary camps or to the labor squads. Then they are registered and given numbers. Under the direction of the WVHA, others are transferred to armaments plants in the interior of the Reich."

    There is also this note for a July 1944 entry: "The male and female Hungarian Jews who were not registered but were kept as so-called depot prisoners or transit Jews in Camps B-IIc, B-IIe, and Section B-III — called "Mexico" — are not included in the occupancy level of Auschwitz II."

    (D. Czech, comp., *Auschwitz Chronicle: 1939-1945* [London/New York: I.B. Tauris, 1990], pp. 563-564, 664.)
37. D. Czech, comp., *Auschwitz Chronicle* (cited above), p. 695.
38. "Hungary," *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, p. 702. (German edition: *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust*, p. 1467.)
39. R. Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden* (cited above), p. 1000.
40. R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*

(cited above, 1985 ed.), pp. 1220. (German edition: R. Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden* [cited above], p. 1300.)

41. R. Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden* (cited above), p. 999.
42. J.-C. Pressac, *Les crématoires d'Auschwitz* (cited above, 1993), pp. 147, 148. In the 1994 German edition of this work (*Die Krematorien von Auschwitz* [cited above], p. 201), Pressac contends that 160,000 to 240,000 Hungarian Jews died in Auschwitz.
43. C. Mattogno, *Auschwitz: The End of a Legend* (IHR, 1994), pp. 23-26; C. Mattogno, "Auschwitz: Das Ende einer Legende," in *Auschwitz: Nackte Fakten* (cited above), p. 115.
44. Filip Müller, *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers* (New York: Stein & Day, 1984), pp. 133-141 (German edition: Filip Müller, *Sonderbehandlung* [Frankfurt am Main: Steinhausen, 1979], p. 207 ff.)
45. Records of the Defense Intelligence Agency (RG 373), mission 60/RPS/462 60 SQ, Can 1508. Exposure 3055, 3056. Published in John Ball, *Air photo Evidence* (Delta, B.C., Canada: Ball Resource, 1992), and in, John Ball, *The Ball Report* (Toronto: Samisdat, 1993), pp. 5, 16. Note also: Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies* (1981), p. 216. Rail transports of Hungarian Jews arrived at Birkenau on May 31, 1944, according to the official *Kalendarium*. See: D. Czech, comp., *Auschwitz Chronicle* (cited above), p. 637.
46. Nuremberg document NO-5689. Note also: R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (cited above, 1985 ed.), pp. 934-935.
47. Nuremberg document NO-5689.
48. Nuremberg document PS-1166, published in IMT "blue series," vol. 27, pp. 46-49. This is also Nuremberg document NO-1990, published in the NMT "green series," vol. 5, pp. 388-89.
49. A. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (cited above), pp. 152-158, 169 and 234, esp. pp. 158-160.
50. *Report of the International Committee of the Red Cross on its Activities During the Second World War* (Geneva: ICRC, 1948; 3 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 641-657, esp. pp. 647-651. This portion is also published in A. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (1997), pp. 133-142, esp. pp. 138-139.
51. State of Israel Ministry of Justice, *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann*, Volume VI (Jerusalem: 1994), Acts 1159, 1160, 1161 & 1163-1167.
52. According to standard "Holocaust" literature, Chelmno was reactivated in June and July 1944 for a period of 21 days, but nobody claims that Hungarian Jews were gassed there. The alleged gassings at Majdanek are said to have been stopped in November 1943.
53. Stutthof Archiwum Muzeum, I-IIB-8; Danuta Drywa, Ruch transportow miedzy KL Stutthof a innymi obozami, in: *Zeszyty Sztutowo*, No. 9, 1990; J. Graf and C. Mattogno, *Das Konzentrationslager Stutthof* (Hastings, England: Castle Hill, 1999), pp. 28-29.

On Stutthof in general, see also: Mark Weber, "Stutthof," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1997 (Vol. 16, No. 5), pp. 2-6.

54. J. Graf and C. Mattogno, *Das Konzentrationslager Stutthof* (cited above), pp. 107-110.
55. J.-C. Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz* (cited above), pp. 199-200.
56. Gossudarstvenny Archiv Rossiskoi Federatsii (Moscow), document 7021-108-23.
57. Gossudarstvenny Archiv Rossiskoi Federatsii (Moscow), document 7021-108-23, pages 181 and 183.
58. Istvan Deak, a Professor of History at Columbia University, and a specialist of Hungarian history, has written of the postwar period there: "...Most of the police interrogators, nearly all of the Hungarian Stalinist leaders, and most of the Communist victims were Jews... Most of the Hungarian Communists were Jews." Source: I. Deak, "Hungary: The New Twist," *The New York Review of Books*, August 18, 1988, p. 48.
59. Published in 1983 in English by the Institute for Historical Review, and in German by Grabert Verlag (Tübingen).
60. Nuremberg documents NO-5193 through NO-5198. Complete texts in German and English in: Serge Klarsfeld, ed., *The Holocaust and the Neo-Nazi Mythomania* (New York: 1978), pp. 165-211 (appendices). Also published in: John Mendelsohn, ed., *The Holocaust: Selected Documents in Eighteen Volumes* (New York: Garland, 1982), vol. 12, pp. 210 ff.

Georgi K. Zhukov

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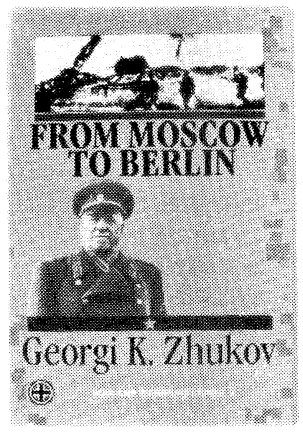

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A Reply to Jürgen Graf:

On the 1944 Deportations of Hungarian Jews

Arthur R. Butz

I sometimes hear revisionists point out that there exists no record of a Hitler order to exterminate the Jews. The point must be made, but its significance is too easily misunderstood.

If such an order, written and of incontestable authenticity, were found then I would not renounce my thesis that the Jews were not exterminated. I would only renounce my claim that there was no plan or official program to exterminate the Jews. I would say yes, there was such a plan, but it was not carried through. The reasons have been given by revisionists over the years.

Such a Hitler order would, however, raise new problems for historians. Was Hitler serious? If so, did he change his mind? Or was he defied?

In the context of debates in which it is insufficiently recognized, in my opinion, that evidence must be commensurate with the allegation, it would be easy to ridicule such a position, but I would consider it a solid one. I am confident that we will never be in that position, but perhaps I am in a similar position on the major problem having to do with the Hungarian Jews. I quickly review the salient points of the received legend:

1. Hungary came under German control on March 19,1944, at which time the Germans intended to recruit employable Jews for labor outside Hungary and deport the remainder, thus approximating what had already been done with German and Austrian Jews.
2. From May 15 until July 9, 1944, virtually the entire intended program was carried out, except for the Jews of the Budapest area. The deportations started with Ruthenia (Carpatho-Ukraine, annexed from Slovakia) and northern Transylvania (annexed from Romania). The total number deported, mainly to Auschwitz, was about 438,000, and the greater number of these was killed on arrival at Auschwitz. During this period the daily average of Jews deported was therefore about 7,500. There were also the deportations of much lesser extent to Strasshof.
3. On July 7 the Regent of Hungary, Admiral Miklos Horthy, under international pressure, defied the Germans and ordered an end to the deportations.
4. Due to military reversals, a crisis erupted in Hungary in October 1944. Horthy was deposed by the Germans and replaced by a government headed by the Hungarian Nazi Ferenc Szalasi. About 30,000 Jews, mainly from the Budapest area, were conscripted for labor and deported toward Germany via Austria, by forced march.[1]

Arthur Butz autographs a copy of his book at the 13th IHR Conference, May 2000.

As I understand it, Jürgen Graf and I accept points 1, 3, and 4 of the legend. We do not accept point 2, but we differ on the extent or sense of our dissent on this crucial point. Graf accepts the 438,000 figure, but denies the killing. I also deny the killing of those who were deported, but I also deny the 438,000 figure or, more precisely, the idea that the May-July deportations virtually emptied Hungary of Jews, except for the Budapest area. I accept however that many Jews were deported in May-July 1944, mainly for labor. I cannot give a figure, but I believe it would have been only a fraction of 438,000. Graf cannot tell us what happened to most of the 438,000 Jews. Indeed the question that is the title of his paper remains begged.

Arthur R. Butz was born and raised in New York City. In 1965 he received his doctorate in Control Sciences from the University of Minnesota. In 1966 he joined the faculty of Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois), where he is now Associate Professor of Electrical and Computer Engineering. In addition to numerous technical papers, Dr. Butz is the author of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, which was first published in 1976. His web site is: http://pubweb.nwu.edu/~abutz

Some Hungarian Jews who have just arrived in Birkenau, apparently in late May or early June 1944. In the background is crematory building (*Krema*) II, where hundreds of thousands of unemployable Jews such as those shown here were supposedly killed by poison gas between the spring of 1943 and late 1944. This photo is from *The Auschwitz Album* (1981).

My main reasons for holding as I do were given many years ago in Chapter 5 of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, and the reader should review those arguments there. I can briefly summarize the principal ones:

1. Such clearing out of the Hungarian Jews was wildly impractical, given the transport shortages at that militarily critical phase. This consideration continues to be a principal basis for my disputing the clearing out of the Hungarian Jews. As of April 19, 1944, the German authorities in Hungary were "encountering greatest difficulties" procuring rail transport for 10,000 employable Jews on their hands, and on April 27 they reported that, while transport had finally been arranged for 4,000 of them, rail shortages were still delaying the deportations for labor, which at that point contemplated 50,000 employable Jews.[2]
2. The 1948 report of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) cannot be reconciled with the legend as it relates to the point in contention.[3] It is unambiguous and emphatic in saying that the major events for the Hungarian Jews were in October, and the ICRC was very close to the Jews and therefore well informed. Though the report notes that there were deportations before July 9, it implies that the Jews had not been emptied out of the provinces outside Budapest, because it states that with the onset of the October crisis, the Jews "lost many killed, especially in the provinces," and that "In November, one hundred thousand Jews poured into Budapest from the provinces," points not mentioned by Graf.
3. The documentary evidence is suspect. In consists mainly of texts of telegrams, allegedly as received at the German Foreign Ministry, from the German plenipotentiary in Hungary, Edmund Veesenmayer, reporting the progress of the deportations in detail. I shall refer to them as the "Veesenmayer telegrams." The documents were put in evidence in the Nuremberg trials. However essentially the only authentications of these telegrams are signatures and initials of Horst Wagner and Eberhard von Thadden, the Jewish specialists at the German Foreign Ministry, who then acquired a strange immunity from prosecution. The man in charge, who held the power of life and death over Wagner and von Thadden, was Robert M.W. Kempner, a German Jew and naturalized US citizen. Kempner had been an anti-Nazi prosecutor in Prussia before Hitler came to power. In *Hoax*, I related a perjury trial in the US, almost simultaneous with the Nuremberg trials, in which the defense successfully attacked the testimony of a prosecution witness, Baron Herbert von Strempel, as coerced while he was incarcerated in Germany and under Kempner's power.[4] In the Nuremberg trials themselves, it was shown that Kempner had threatened to turn potential witnesses over to the Soviets if they did not cooperate.[5]

The number of Jews the legend asserts were deported in eight weeks is about two-thirds of the sum deported from Germany, Austria and Western Europe in the three year period of late 1941 to late 1944. I should have stressed more strongly that I have no record of protests, by German officials charged with conventional military logistic duties, against the dedication of massive rail transport, in

the context of the military crisis (around the time of D-Day), to a militarily irrelevant (at best) operation of moving non-employable Jews. I did refer to the case of Albert Speer, deeply involved in deportations of employable Hungarian Jews, who claimed he knew nothing of exterminations at the time.[6] In any case he made no protest over such a diversion of transport means.

Consider the practical implications of deporting all Hungarian Jews in such a short time interval. In Hungary the Jewish situation was similar to what it had been in Germany and Austria before Hitler: the Jews were a strongly entwined group, especially in the economy. The Nazis had about ten years to effect the emigration and/or expulsion of the 600,000 Jews of Germany and Austria, and even there the expulsion was not complete. The expulsion of all Hungarian Jews, or even of only those in the provinces outside Budapest, in an interval of two months, would have been like a virtual atom bomb dropped on the Hungarian economy.

Friedrich Born

As for the Red Cross report, it is unacceptable to simply dismiss the author as "incompetent." The ICRC delegate in Budapest from October 1943 was Jean de Bavier. However the President of the ICRC, Max Huber, was unsatisfied with de Bavier, who did not speak German. Thus de Bavier was replaced by Friedrich Born, who took over in an acting capacity in mid-May 1944. Both de Bavier and Born had conferred with the Jewish leader Saly Mayer in Geneva before going to Budapest.[7]

Friedrich Born died in 1963, and in 1987 he was designated "Righteous" by the Yad Vashem in Jerusalem.[8] Since the 1948 ICRC report on Hungary describes his work as "courageously undertaken," he may not have been its actual author, but we should assume that it was Born who provided the information for the report, and that he most probably reviewed it prior to publication.

I digress with one point for the benefit of those reading this who believe the extermination legend. Deportation of hundreds of thousands of Jews from Hungary, to make the difficult journey across the mountains of Slovakia to Auschwitz, only to be killed there, makes no sense on practical grounds. If such were the objective, why not improvise means to kill them in Hungary, and perhaps even blame it on the Hungarians? Whoever might object by saying that Auschwitz had specially designed means for extermination has not been studying the subject matter. The legend claims that the means of extermination at Auschwitz were improvised anyway! The gas was the pesticide Zyklon, the gas chambers were rooms that had been built as morgues in the crematory buildings (Kremas), and the crematories turned out to be inadequate in capacity to dispose of the bodies, so the corpses were burned outdoors in huge pyres. All of that could have been done in Hungary! Whoever might object by contending that Auschwitz was in an isolated region, where large-scale things could be done in secrecy, knows nothing of the circumstances under which the site for the industrial activities around Auschwitz was chosen. It was near the major city of Cracow, and was served by major rail lines. Civilian workers in the Auschwitz industries communicated more or less freely with outsiders.[9] The camp was visited in September 1944 by ICRC delegates, who were able to interview British POWs there.[10] This industry was strategically important and received the scrutiny of the Allies, who made many aerial photos of the camp and bombed it. The Hungarian Jews whose bodies allegedly were burned in huge pyres at Auschwitz are not to be found in the aerial photos the Allies took of the camp during this very same period, and which were only made public in 1979.[11]

To return to my argument, I should cite additional data from the Vatican that became available to me in 1980. It relates mainly to Romania but bears on Hungary as well. Northern Transylvania is a province that has been sometimes in Hungary, sometimes in Romania, and must not be confused with Transnistria, further east in an area of Ukraine, beyond the Dniester River, to which many Romanian Jews were deported in 1941. When by late 1943 Russian advances made it impractical to try to keep them there, they started returning, but their movements were suspended when the Russians overran Transnistria in the spring. Our concern is with Hungary and northern Transylvania, which was transferred from Romania to Hungary in 1940. However Jewish leaders in Romania remained in touch with events effecting Jews not only in northern Transylvania, but also in Hungary generally.[12]

On June 30, 1944, Alexander Safran, Grand Rabbi of Romania (later Grand Rabbi of Geneva), wrote to Andrea Cassulo, the Papal Nuncio in Bucharest, to acknowledge his "noble action" in favor of Romanian Jews, particularly those evacuated from Transnistria. He added that such support

encourages him to ask for papal support for Jews in Hungary "exposed to great deprivations and suffering." The only reference to deportations is of the Jews of Transnistria.[13] There is no reference in Safran's letter to exterminations of Hungarian Jews, or to their mass deportation.

Two more documents were obtained from the Vatican in 1980. On July 11 Cassulo had sent the Safran letter of June 30 to the Vatican, and on July 28 he transmitted another letter to the Vatican that, he said, "confirms the sad fact" of Safran's letter. The new communication was an undated letter to Cassulo signed by six "Jewish personalities." It said[14]

> ... the Hungarian government has ordered the deportation of the Jews. Impacted by this order were mainly the Jews living in northern Transylvania, who were compelled without exception to leave their homes. For a long time we have known nothing of our relatives, since all our attempts to learn their fate have been fruitless.

I assume this letter was written some time in July, and it implicitly denies that the Jews had been cleared out, since "mainly" the Jews of northern Transylvania were effected, and the authors were not even sure what the situation was with them. Cassulo interpreted the letter as a plea for the Catholic Church "to alleviate in some manner the lot of so many unfortunates forced to leave their homes and live in concentration camps," and authoritative enough to be forwarded to the Vatican.

I note in passing a remark about northern Transylvania in the 1948 ICRC report, in the section on Romania. In its December 1944 report to Geneva the ICRC delegation in Bucharest said that

> ...thanks to consignments from the Joint Committee of New York and to collections made on the spot, it had been able to come to the help of (6,000 Hungarian Jews) who had succeeded in escaping deportation and were found in Northern Transylvania.

This says that there were deportations from northern Transylvania and that 6,000 Jews of northern Transylvania later came into contact with the delegation in Bucharest (about 200 miles from the major north Transylvanian city of Cluj). It does not say that only 6,000 Jews were left in northern Transylvania after the deportations.

The third document obtained from the Vatican is a letter to Cassulo, dated December 11, 1944, from the General Jewish Curatorship of Northern Transylvania (then resident in Bucharest). It says that in May and June 150,000 Jews, of all ages and conditions, were deported from northern Transylvania to Auschwitz. Direct information on their fate is not available, but escapees say some have been exterminated. The letter asks that the Vatican intervene with the German government to arrange distribution of parcels to them.[15] The late date and the reference to "escapees" as a source of information suggests lesser probative value for this document, because the reference is probably to what I called the "War Refugee Board Report" (WRB Report, also called the "Auschwitz Protocols"), published in Washington on November 25, 1944, which I have discussed at length.[16] The structure of the mass extermination claim had been largely settled on by then, so that reports can be suspected of being based on what was by then widely said to have happened, rather than actual observations and experiences of the reporters.

The document which later became the WRB Report was in limited circulation in Europe in June and was reported in the *New York Times* in July.[17] Its receipt was probably the reason the ICRC felt obliged to make the September visit to Auschwitz.

One should also carefully consider the document of August 15, 1944, quoted by Graf, which speaks of 612,000 prisoners in the process of being added to the camps. Of this number 90,000 were Hungarian Jews from the "Jewish Action" there, and 400,000 were Poles from Warsaw. Graf does not make clear that these people were not yet physically in the camps, because he does not take into account the final sentence of the relevant section of the document: "A large number of the prisoners is already on its way and will arrive during the next days for delivery to the concentration camps." One infers that most were being held elsewhere on that date. For the Hungarian Jews, the only place they could have been at the time, if they were not in the German camps outside Hungary, would have been in some sort of detention in Hungary. The document is at best irrelevant to Graf's thesis; all it implies is that in mid-August there were at least 90,000 Jews in Hungary that were viewed as well enough organized for quick transport. They could have been either Budapest Jews or Jews in the provinces. These 90,000 new Hungarian Jewish camp inmates did not in fact materialize in the sense of the document (as even Graf implies in his paper), probably because of transport shortages that finally had to be overcome in the fall by making Jewish labor conscripts walk.

In 1984 Mark Weber called to my attention a document that had been cited during the proceedings of the Nuremberg trial of 1945-1946, but which I had missed when writing my book. An excerpt, which was a British prosecution exhibit, was also published in the official Nuremberg Tribunal record.[18] I wrote Graf about this document on

November 5, 1993.

The document is the August 23, 1944, edition of *Die Lage* ("The Situation"), an information bulletin published by the Goebbels ministry of propaganda. Theoretically it was intended for a restricted readership, as it is specified "Strictly Confidential!" (*Streng vertraulich!*), but that has to be taken with a grain of salt considering, for example, that the first section of this issue reports that the Allied landings in France had been successful because of the Allies' complete control of sea and air — hardly a secret.

The second section is about the Hungarian Jews, and is very consistent with the legend. It says that the German authorities

> commenced with the cleaning up of the northeastern area — north Transylvania and the Carpathian province — where the Jewish element was the strongest numerically. Then the Jews were collected in the remaining Hungarian provinces and transported to Germany or German controlled territories. A hundred thousand Jews remained in the hands of the Hungarians to be employed in labor battalions ... By July 9 approximately 430,000 Jews from the Hungarian provinces had been handed over to the German authorities. The handing over takes place on the Hungarian national frontier ... As a final stage of the Jewish measures the Jews from Budapest were to be deported. It is a question of approximately 260,000. But in the meantime pressure from enemy and neutral countries ... had become so strong that those circles in Hungary that are friendly to the Jews attempted to influence the Hungarian Government to prevent any further measures against the Jews ...

This may seem to settle it in favor of Graf's thesis but please bear with me. The many objections, especially those regarding the basic physical plausibility, and even possibility, of the alleged events still stand. I shall return to this Goebbels ministry matter.

We should consider writings by historians who accept the essentials of the received legend. Randolph L. Braham has written more on this subject

Jewish deportees who have just arrived at Auschwitz-Birkenau from Hungary, late May or early June 1944. Here unemployable Jews, including elderly people and children, are apparently being sorted out by SS men. Several veteran camp inmates, wearing striped uniforms, can be seen in the foreground to the left. In the background are rail cars in which deportees arrive at the camp. Birkenau's main rail entry gate can been seen in the background, to the left. This photo is from *The Auschwitz Album* (1981), one of some 185 published in this book.

than anyone else, and his *magnum opus* is his two-volume work *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary.*[19] As for the mass deportations, Braham's principal evidence is

1. The Veesenmayer telegrams.
2. Reports attributed to László Ferenczy, effectively the Hungarian police chief, in the form of transcripts on Police of Israel stationery, said to be transcribed from confirmed photocopies. In 1993 Graf sent me a copy of the one that he specifically cites. Braham presents a table comparing the Veesenmayer and Ferenczy figures.[20]
3. A summary of transports that allegedly passed through Kassa (the present Kosice in Slovakia) on the way to Auschwitz (Braham's Appendix 6). The typical train carried, according to this document, 2,000 to 3,000 people, sometimes more or less, a typical day saw 2 to 5 transports pass through, and there were literally daily transports May 16 through June 6. The first two transports are specified as passing through Kassa on May 14. These figures are said to have been collected by the Railway Command of Kassa and first published in 1984 in a Jewish magazine in Toronto by a lawyer who had been

a resident of Kassa. Thus the document does not appear in the original edition of Braham's work, published in 1981.

Braham also reproduces a June 30 letter from the Hungarian government to Angelo Rotta, the Papal Nuncio in Budapest, no doubt written to counter the by then widely publicized stories that a general deportation of Hungarian Jews was in progress:[21]

> We take this opportunity to mention that Hungarian Jews are not slated for deportation. A large number of Jewish manual laborers is being placed at the disposal of the German government, and the fact that their families were sent together with them to Germany is the result of the decision to keep families undivided, since greater performance can be expected from Jews when they are relaxed by the presence of their families. In this connection, we saw to it that in the retention within the country of the manpower absolutely needed to maintain industrial and economic life, priority be given to the converted Jews and to their families.

This June 30 Hungarian government letter seems to me a fair representation of the situation at that time, both in Hungary for Jews in general, and among Catholic representatives, who were particularly concerned with the lot of Jewish converts to Catholicism.

Prominent among the projects contemplated for the Hungarian Jews conscripted for labor was fighter aircraft production, and armaments minister Albert Speer and colleagues were eager in this period to get the promised Jews from Hungary. Thus they complained at a May 26 meeting that[22]

> Till now two transports have arrived at the SS camp Auschwitz. For fighter construction we were offered only children, women, and old men with whom very little can be done... Unless the next transports bring men of an age fit for work the whole action will not have much success.

This implies non-employables were not killed on arrival at Auschwitz. It also suggests another less noble motivation for deporting "families": fulfillment of quotas in the context of rivalry among nominal allies. Such a situation arose in 1943 when Oswald Pohl, the head of the concentration camp system, complained "that the prisons transferring (prisoners to the camps) have literally released inmates who are in the worst possible physical condition."[23] The first thought of a warden, if given the choice, is to get rid of the useless ones and retain the useful.

Returning to the May 26, 1944, document, we note that it was a transcript of the stenographic minutes of a regular meeting of the "Jägerstab," the group formed of representatives of the air force and Speer's ministry to oversee the production of fighter planes. Therefore the statement, that up to that date only two transports of Jews from Hungary had arrived at Auschwitz, cannot be taken as authoritative in itself. However I believe that the remark has independent confirmation. The first transport would have been the group of 4,000 Jews, said above to be ready for transport on April 27, that arrived in two transports on or about May 1, but were referred to in this conference as one transport. The second transport would have been a group that arrived later in May, and from which 4,000 Jews were registered, 2,000 on each of the two days of May 22 and 24. A transport that apparently arrived during the night of May 25 would have been too recent to be taken account of at the May 26 meeting.[24] Apart from whether or not the remark was strictly correct, I do not believe it would have been made in that form if Jews had for about a week been pouring into Auschwitz, at a rate of some 7,500 per day, in two to five transports per day, for whatever purpose. There would have been complaints that, with so many people pouring in, more useful labor ought to be offered. On the contrary the "next transport" was only speculated for some unknown future date, and the transports they were talking about fairly represented the "whole action." The May 26 conference remark disagrees not merely in detail or degree, but in kind, from what would have been said if the massive regular transports claimed had been real.

To return to Braham, I must admit I have not read all of his massive work of 1,500 pages, partly because it is mainly about well known things I do not contest, and partly because it is clear that treatments of the problems that I would consider serious tests are either not there or support my original theory when they are there. Let me explain.

Historical events can only occur in association with other events. Every such event is accompanied by ancillary, correlative and consequent events. If a stone is thrown in the water, then the event must create ripples on the surface. If there is a forest fire, then there must be smoke. In a competent criminal investigation it is necessary to test such events. There is the classic question "Did the dog bark?" It is easy to formulate an internally consistent phony confession or perjured testimony which speaks in general terms of a crime, but it is not easy to anticipate the questions that a competent interrogator will ask about the details, related events, and consequent events. Those are the sorts of events lacking when I consider the claim that the Hungarian Jews were cleared out.

Changing Perspectives on History in Germany

A Prestigious Award for Nolte: Portent of Greater Historical Objectivity?

For decades Ernst Nolte has been one of Germany's best known historians, as well as one of the most reviled. His numerous books include "The Germans and Their Past," "The European Civil War," and *Streitpunkte* (or "Points of Contention," reviewed in the Jan.-Feb. 1994 *Journal*). In the United States his best known work is probably his 1963 study, published here under title *The Three Faces of Fascism*, which compares "fascism" in France, Italy and Germany. Widely regarded as a path-breaking study, it remains indispensable for every serious student of the subject. After years on the faculty of the Free University in Berlin, the 77-year-old scholar is now a *Professor Emeritus*.

For at least two decades, his provocative views on 20th-century European history, and especially Third Reich Germany and World War II, have stimulated wide discussion about the past, even among non-historians. In a 1980 lecture entitled "Historical Legend and Revisionism?," for example, he said:

> The Third Reich should be removed from the historical isolation in which it remains... The demonization of the Third Reich is unacceptable ... [Rather, it] must become an object of scholarship, of a scholarship that is not aloof from politics, but that is also not merely a handmaiden of politics ...

Nolte's detractors — especially his Jewish critics — have been particularly distressed by his suggestion that Hitler's wartime treatment of the Jews might legitimately be regarded, at least in part, as a defensive response to the threat of Bolshevik mass murder of Germans. In his 1980 lecture, he said:

> ... It is hard to deny that Hitler had good reason to be convinced of his enemies' determination to annihilate long before the first information about the events in Auschwitz became public ... [Zionist leader] Chaim Weizmann's statement in the first days of September 1939, that in this war the Jews of all the world would fight on England's side ... could lay the foundation for the thesis that Hitler would have been justified in treating the German Jews as prisoners of war (or, more precisely, as civilian internees), thus interning them.

During the 1980s Nolte was at the center of Germany's so-called "historians' dispute" (*Historikerstreit*), an intense debate about the Third Reich and World War II, and their "lessons" for the present and the future. It began with a 1986 essay by Nolte in a prestigious daily paper in which he argued that, 40 years after the end of the war, Germans should be allowed to embrace their past without a permanent sense of guilt. The two most prominent protagonists in the ensuing debate were Nolte and the leftist intellectual Jürgen Habermas. (For more on this see the interview with Nolte, and the review of his 1993 book *Streitpunkte*, both in the Jan.-Feb. 1994 *Journal*, pp. 15-22, 37-41, as well as "Auschwitz in History," from a more recent essay by him, in the March-April 1999 *Journal*, p. 36.)

Ernst Nolte

In a 1989 interview with an Italian newspaper, Nolte summed up his view of the phenomenon of "fascism" in Europe and of World War II:

> I am convinced that European history cannot be written as the history of individual states and also not as the history of a destructive ide-

THE TIMES WEDNESDAY SEPTEMBER 6 1939

JEWS TO FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACIES

DR. WEIZMANN'S LETTER TO MR. CHAMBERLAIN

The Jewish Agency for Palestine in London yesterday issued the text of correspondence between Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of the agency, and the Prime Minister. Dr. Weizmann in his letter to Mr. Chamberlain, dated August 29, wrote: —

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,—In this hour of supreme crisis the consciousness that the Jews have a contribution to make to the defence of sacred values impels me to write this letter. I wish to confirm, in the most explicit manner, the declarations which I and my colleagues have made during the last month, and especially in the last week, that the Jews stand by Great Britain and will fight on the side of the democracies.

Our urgent desire is to give effect to these declarations. We wish to do so in a way entirely consonant with the general scheme of British action, and therefore would place ourselves, in matters big and small, under the coordinating direction of his Majesty's Government. The Jewish Agency is ready to enter into immediate arrangements for utilizing Jewish man-power, technical ability, resources, &c.

The Jewish Agency has recently had differences in the political field with the Mandatory Power. We would like these differences to give way before the greater and more pressing necessities of the time. We ask you to accept this declaration in the spirit in which it is made.

Shortly before the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939, Jewish leader Chaim Weizmann pledged that "the Jews" would "stand by" Britain in the impending fight against Germany. This historic declaration — reproduced here in facsimile — was published in the London *Times* of September 6, 1939. Weizmann was president of both the "Jewish Agency" (the Zionist "shadow government" in Palestine) and of the World Zionist Organization, and in 1949 became Israel's first president. A number of historians, including Ernst Nolte, have cited this declaration to show that Hitler had understandable grounds for treating Jews as a hostile nationality.

ology which only emerged in Germany. Throughout Europe there existed a fear of Communism, and this was present even in the USA. The history of the first half of the twentieth century must therefore be written as that of a great ideological civil war in which neither of the two contending sides was entirely in the right. It was a matter of a struggle in contrasts, in propaganda, which exaggerated claims until the defeat of one party, National Socialism.

Expressions of hostility toward Nolte have not been merely rhetorical. In 1994 a gang of 30 leftists physically assaulted him, inflicting injuries so severe that he had to be taken to a hospital. On another occasion terrorists set fire to his car.

Adenauer Prize

Nolte's place in German society, where the past is always present, is thus a measure of the general social-political outlook. That's why people took notice when he was recently honored with the "Konrad Adenauer Prize" for literature, one of Germany's most prestigious literary awards. It was given at a ceremony on June 4, 2000, along with 10,000 marks ($4,800), by the Munich-based Germany Foundation (*Deutschlandstiftung*).

In his acceptance speech, Nolte showed that he has not retreated from his earlier controversial remarks. "We should leave behind the view that the opposite of National Socialist goals is always good and right," he said. According to news reports, he again raised the question of "whether Hitler's anti-Semitism may not have had a kernel of truth" or a "rational, comprehensible core."

Because, he went on, Third Reich Germany was the "strongest of all counter forces" to Soviet Communism, a movement with wide Jewish support, Hitler may have had "rational" reasons for persecuting Jews. Nolte also denounced the "collective accusation" continuously leveled against Germany since 1945, and spoke out against those who advocate "an unstoppable transition toward a world civilization." A "Jewish paradigm" of history, he said, has become more important in recent decades and now threatens to become a "quasi-religion" in which German National Socialism is regarded as a "new satan."

Möller's Praise for Nolte

As significant as the award itself was the speech in praise of Nolte given on the occasion of the ceremony by another prominent historian, Horst Möller, director of the renowned Institute for Contemporary History (*Institut für Zeitgeschichte*). The taxpayer-funded, quasi-official Institute, established in the aftermath of the Second World War, played an important role for decades in "reeducating Ger-

mans," that is, promoting the historical perspective of the victorious western Allies. It publishes the influential historical quarterly *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte.*

While explaining that he does not agree with all of Nolte's views, Möller praised his "life's work of high rank," which "has earned national and international attention." Nolte, said Möller, is "the only philosopher of history among the German historians, and the only historian among the German philosophers of history." It takes extraordinary courage, Möller went on, "to deviate from the main course of the current intellectual life in Germany, and to honor the historian who has been made an 'unperson'." Möller also spoke out against the "hate-filled and defamatory" efforts to quash open debate in Germany on 20th century history.

Martin Walser

Möller, director since 1992 of the Munich-based Institute, has overseen an expansion of its output and impact. Also under his leadership, it played an important role in discrediting the highly-publicized "Wehrmacht Exhibition," a traveling photo exhibit of atrocities allegedly committed by regular German armed forces during the war years. (See "Fraud Exposed in Defamatory German Exhibition," Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal*, pp. 6-11.)

Möller's speech, along with the award for Nolte, prompted some protests. A professor of history at Berlin's Humboldt University, Heinrich Winkler, complained in a letter published in the influential leftist weekly *Die Zeit* that "Mr. Möller allowed himself to become a party to an intellectual political offensive aimed at integrating rightist and revisionist positions into the conservative mainstream."

Jewish groups were predictably enraged by the award for Nolte. The American Jewish Congress, for example, dismissed the historian's views as "intellectual garbage" and "old and shabby lies." A statement by AJ Congress president Jack Rosen, issued in the aftermath of the Germany Foundation award, declared that "conservative, nationalist forces in Germany, like their counterparts in Austria, still refuse to accept the implications of the Nazi era for themselves and for their country." As the world knows, these "implications" include uncomplaining German (and Austrian) acceptance of seemingly endless humiliations, self-abasing contrition, and reparations payments to Israel and world Jewry. (See "Germany Has Paid Out More Than $61.8 Billion in Third Reich Reparations," Nov.-Dec. 1998 *Journal*, p. 19.)

The AJ Congress also condemned the "remnants of the Hitlerian impulse still present in Germany," a reference to the sparks of resistance to the international campaign against the German nation and heritage.

Typical of the American media's warped coverage of such matters was a tendentious *New York Times* report (June 21) that appeared under a headline that absurdly referred to Ernst Nolte as a "Hitler Apologist." Similarly, a *New York Times* editorial (June 25) told readers that Nolte is "a well-known historian who argues for breaking taboos that have constrained Germany's debate about the Nazi era. But some of his ideas are repugnant, and he deserves no awards."

In reality, Nolte's effort to dispassionately explain or understand Hitler and German National Socialism is no more an "apology" than comparable efforts by other historians to explain Napoleon, Stalin or Franklin Roosevelt, and such historical phenomena as the French Revolution, the American Civil War, or Soviet Communism.

Martin Walser's Speech

The Nolte award ceremony is not the only sign of a greater German openness about the past. Another was an important and much-discussed speech in October 1998 by Martin Walser, one of Germany's most prominent writers. He gave it at the Frankfurt Book Fair, the world's largest trade exposition of book publishers, during a ceremony honoring him with the annual Peace Prize of the German Association of Publishers and Booksellers.

"Auschwitz," said Walser, "is not suited to becoming a routine threat, a tool of intimidation that can be used any time, a moral cudgel [*Moralkeule*] or merely a compulsory exercise." He lamented the "exploitation [*instrumentalisierung*] of our disgrace for present purposes," an apparent reference to the seemingly endless campaign by Jewish groups for reparations.

Walser also criticized the "monumentalization of the shame," and said that Auschwitz is exploited as a "ceaseless presentation of our shame." The audience, which included some of the country's most prominent cultural and political figures, rose to standing applause at the speech's conclusion.

Even though Walser expressed himself cautiously and with considerable restraint, Jewish leaders reacted with rage bordering on hysteria. Ignatz Bubis, the influential chief of the Central

A smiling President Harry Truman welcomes Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann during a White House visit, May 25, 1948. Weizmann, who "declared war" against Germany on behalf of "the Jews" in 1939, served as Israel's first president.

Council of the Jews in Germany, called the address "intellectual arson" and complained: "I was listening to this speech and I was more and more astonished. I thought I was taking part in a neo-Nazi rally." American newspaper comments echoed Bubis' outrage.

At least as important as the speech itself was the heated, weeks-long discussion it prompted in newspapers, magazines and television. "The trend in Walser's speech is something that is more and more widespread of late," Bubis said. "Intellectual nationalism is spreading, and it is not free of an understated anti-Semitism."

A Changing Historical Perspective?

Since 1945 it has been difficult for historians, especially in Germany, to deal objectively with the Third Reich. As a writer for the London *Times* (June 22) recently wrote: "How far can German historians discuss Hitler in a normal way — advancing positive as well as negative elements — without seeming to be Nazi sympathizers?"

What's behind this abnormal situation? It endures in part because, as the old saying goes, history is written by the winners. In the aftermath of World War II, the victorious Allied powers understandably sought to demonize the defeated Nazi regime. But this is only part of the answer.

Now, more than half a century after the end of the conflict, the continuing distortion of World War II history is due — as Ernst Nolte has cautiously suggested — above all, to the powerful Jewish-Zionist role in society and cultural life. Jews understandably regard Germany's anti-Jewish Führer as one of the great villains of their collective history, along with the Egyptian Pharaoh who opposed Moses, Amalek of Torah legend, and the ancient Persian prime minister Haman. Reflecting their tremendous influence in the world today, especially in the United States, Jews have been amazingly successful in foisting a Judeocentric view of history on non-Jewish society. Thus, Hitler is portrayed as a peculiarly, even uniquely evil figure — far more so than, for example, Soviet dictator Stalin or Chinese Communist leader Mao Zedong — each of whose victims vastly outnumber Hitler's.

A Jewish view of 20th-century history — which includes what even some Jewish intellectuals call the "Holocaust cult" or "Holocaust industry" — is obviously incompatible with a treatment that is objective and truthful.

As a result of this aberrant view of the past, Germany remains — even after half a century — a nation permanently "on parole." Because it has already been collectively tried and convicted, so to speak, any "relapse" brings swift condemnation and threat of renewed punishment.

But as Jewish leader Bubis complained, and as the recent award to Ernst Nolte suggests, there are signs that the intellectual climate is changing. Not just in Germany, but across Europe, there is growing acknowledgement that the historical view imposed by the victorious Allies in 1945, as well as the Judeocentric view that now prevails, is a crass and even dangerous distortion. Contributing to this "historicization" has been the end of the Soviet empire, with its outpouring of new revelations about the grim legacy of Soviet Communism, and the collapse of a major pillar of the "anti-fascist" view of 20th-century history. Although powerful interests may succeed for a time in stemming the tide, in the long run a more "revisionist" treatment of history, even Third Reich history, is inevitable.

— *M. W.*

Thanks

We've stirred up things a lot since the first issue of the *Journal of Historical Review* came out in the spring of 1980 — 20 years ago. Without the staunch support of you, our subscribers, it couldn't have survived. So please keep sending those clippings, the helpful and critical comments on our work, the informative articles, and the extra boost over and above the subscription price. It's our life blood. To everyone who has helped keep the *Journal* alive, our sincerest thanks.

Children told to attack Germans

By Paul Peachey

TO THE German school party stoned and accused of Nazism during a visit to Britain, the promise of a "warm and friendly" Cornish welcome rang a little hollow.

Their trip to one of the county's best known landmarks, St Michael's Mount, ended in confrontation as English youngsters were encouraged to attack the group by their parents, according to teachers.

Tourism officials apologised to the party from Berlin yesterday in an attempt to limit the damage to the tourist trade.

The group of 44 said that they were confronted by the youngsters chanting abuse during a visit to Marazion at the weekend. Gabbi Muller, a teacher, said the youngsters were encouraged by parents to throw stones and waterbombs at the German teenagers.

It had been yet another episode of racism they were forced to endure during their week-long stay in the South West. "It's in the nightclubs and pubs and in the street — we are German bitches and Nazis," the teacher told BBC Radio Cornwall.

Henrika Heyers, one of the German students, said: "They were just giving in to hate. There were little children as young as six or seven shouting 'fight, fight'. I just could not believe it; I was deeply, deeply shocked."

The Cornwall Tourist Board was left deeply embarrassed. Deborah Smith apologised to the group. "It's appalling and very, very distressing. The children appear to have been encouraged by their parents," she said. "All our research shows Cornwall is well known for giving a warm and friendly welcome and the German market is one of our strongest overseas markets."

Hatred against Germans erupted recently in Britain when a group of children, encouraged by their parents, attacked visiting German students with stones and waterbombs. The incident in eastern Cornwall was reported in this item, reproduced here in facsimile, from *The Times* (London), June 7, 2000. Such mindless bigotry is, of course, an entirely predictable consequence of the seemingly endless worldwide campaign that Jewish historian Alfred Lilienthal aptly calls "Holocaustomania." The reaction, or lack of one, to this incident is instructive. Apparently none of the perpetrators was punished, or even arrested, for his or her criminal behavior. That's understandable because in this case the victims were, after all, merely Germans. A comparable incident in Britain or Germany with Jews or Africans as the victims would have merited instant worldwide publicity. Public figures and major newspapers would have responded with expressions of indignation and grave concern over another ominous outbreak of hate. The silence and inaction in this recent incident is entirely typical of the double standard that prevails these days throughout the "Western" world.

"People are more ready to believe a lie that has been repeated a thousand times than a truth heard for the very first time."

A Deceitful Swipe at the IHR

In an advertisement that appeared in *The New York Times*, April 18, 2000, the American Jewish Committee took (another) swipe at the Institute for Historical Review. Along with the Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish Congress, the AJ Committee is generally regarded as one of the three most influential Jewish-Zionist organizations in the United States.

The *Times* ad, headlined "Hate for Sale," sharply criticized two major on-line booksellers, Amazon.com and Barnes & Noble, for selling the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* — a purported Jewish plan to control the world that most specialists regard as a fraud. The AJ Committee ad went on declare: "The main US publishers of the *Protocols* editions offered by these booksellers are Noontide Press — once linked to the racist and anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby and now the printing arm of the so-called Institute for Historical Review, the leading organ of Holocaust denial worldwide — and Book Tree Press, supplier of an array of extremist materials."

There are several falsehoods here. First, Noontide Press does not publish the *Protocols*. Like Amazon.com and Barnes & Noble, Noontide markets copies supplied by an outside printer/ distributor. Secondly, Noontide Press has never been the "printing arm" of the IHR. It is simply an affiliated publishing enterprise. The IHR publishes books under its own imprint. Finally, the IHR is not an "organ of Holocaust denial." The term "Holocaust denial" is both stupid and polemical. As anyone who is really familiar with the IHR and its work knows, this characterization is a cheap smear. Unfortunately, the falsehoods in this advertisement are all too typical of the distortions of the AJ Committee and similar Jewish-Zionist groups.

Many people regard the *Protocols* as the authentic blueprint of a diabolical Jewish scheme to control the world. Others dismiss it as a pernicious fraud concocted nearly a century ago by the Tsarist Russian secret police. The AJ Committee luridly calls it "the most bloodstained volume in modern history." The Committee's call for banning this work echoes the arguments of censors throughout the ages, who contend that others, will be seduced or misled by an "offensive" work. If the *Protocols* deserve to be banned, why not other "offensive" works? Why not the *Communist Manifesto*, the Jewish Talmud, or even the Bible? We believe that all such works, including the *Protocols*, should be available for public scrutiny and study. All the same, the Noontide Press catalog description specifically warns the prospective buyer that the *Protocols* is "offered *caveat lector.*"

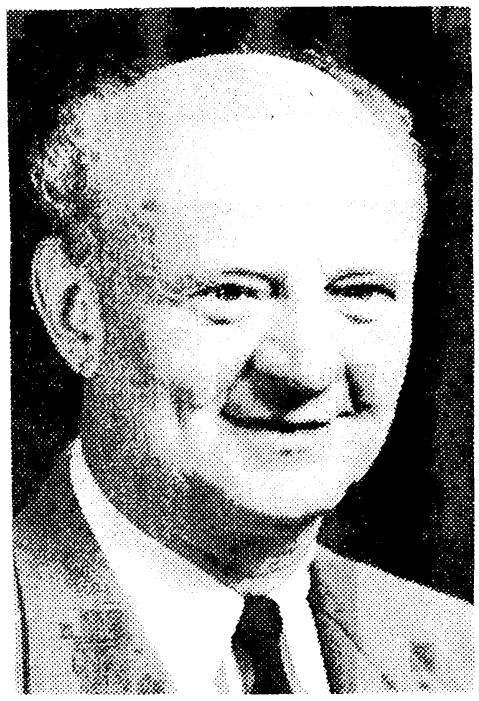
— *M. W.*

Peenemünde and Los Alamos: Two Studies

Donald E. Tarter

Abstract

The Second World War produced two great and memorable scientific and technological teams: the German Peenemünde rocket team under the direction of Dr. Wernher von Braun, and the American Los Alamos atomic bomb team under the direction of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer. Taken together, the contributions of these teams created the postwar capability for intercontinental nuclear warfare. These teams, working in different countries under radically different political systems, encountered severe political difficulties during and after the war. Each, in its own way, has had to live with its deeds, endure public suspicions, and bear the judgment of history. This article, based on 13 hours of interviews recently completed with members of the von Braun Peenemünde team, together with an analysis of several hours of video interviews of members of the Oppenheimer Los Alamos team, seeks to present a meaningful contrast and description of the environments and the pressures under which each worked.



Arthur Rudolph

Introduction

Late in 1982, the United States Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations (OSI) began a series of interrogations of a former von Braun rocket team member, Arthur Rudolph. Rudolph had been one of the central figures in the American Apollo Lunar Program, having been the Saturn 5 project manager. He had left his previous home in Huntsville, Alabama, site of the George C. Marshall Space Flight Center, and was then residing in San Jose, California.

Throughout 1983, OSI continued its investigations, and late that year informed Dr. Rudolph that it believed there was sufficient evidence to link him to war crimes activity at the World War II German rocket facility, Mittelwerk, a forced-labor installation in the Harz Mountains. OSI threatened prosecution and indictment unless Dr. Rudolph signed an agreement to leave the country and renounce his citizenship. After agonizing over the prospects of a long and expensive trial or doing as the OSI requested, Dr. Rudolph decided in November 1983 to leave the United States. On March 27, 1984, he and his wife boarded a plane in San Francisco en route to Germany.

The disposition of the Rudolph case bitterly incensed many of Rudolph's original German colleagues and many of his associates in the American space program. In early 1989, an effort was launched by several of his friends and colleagues in Huntsville to have the government allow his return to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the lunar landing in July. That effort failed.

A 1989 editorial in the *Huntsville Times*[1] noted that Rudolph chose to leave the USA because there was a possibility of prosecution, and a chance that if successfully prosecuted he would be deported and lose his government benefits. The editorial added:

> The right and justice of the matter have never been established. The aging retiree chose to acquiesce rather than fight. The West German government has said it did not find evidence to prosecute him.
>
> ... [This] leaves unanswered the question of the basic justice of the Rudolph case. The OSI's decision is, of course, subject to review. Rudolph has recourse through the federal courts, but to date, he has not taken it. And his dilemma is what it always was: a court order dissolving his voluntary surrender of citizenship would also set aside the OSI's side of the

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agreement. By starting the case over, Rudolph would be exposed to prosecution with the prospect of deportation and the loss of retirement benefits.

It is a dilemma best left to history.

J. Robert Oppenheimer

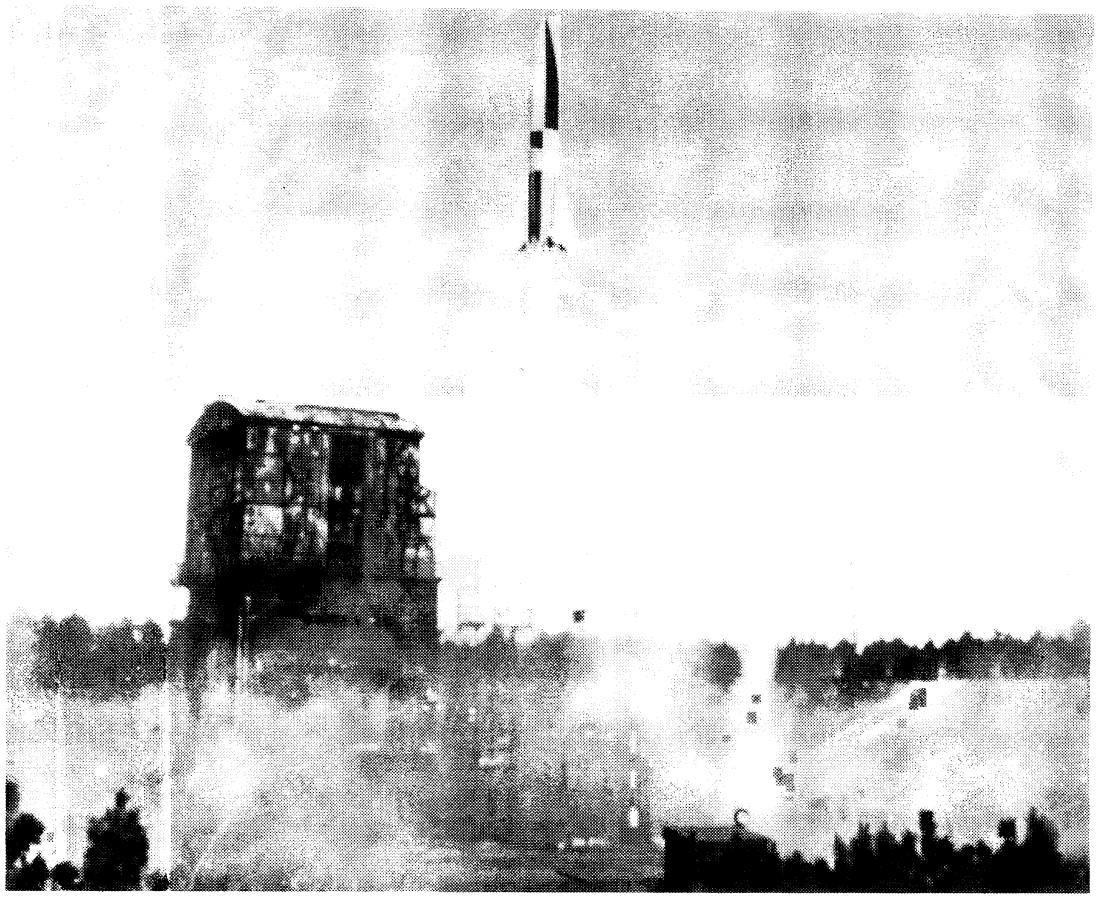
In late 1983 and early 1984 Mr. Konrad K. Dannenberg and I were beginning a project at the University of Alabama in Huntsville which would add to the recorded recollection of members of Wernher von Braun's Peenemünde rocket team. Dannenberg himself was a former member of that team. He had served as a propulsion engineer on the first successful A-4 (later termed V-2) launch in October 1942. Later, among other duties in the United States, he had served as deputy director of the Saturn Program at George C. Marshall Space Flight Center. Both Dannenberg and I were most interested in seeing that early recollections of German rocketry were preserved. Likewise, we were interested in obtaining comments about the future of space development as anticipated by these pioneers. Hence our project was entitled, "Our Future in Space: Messages from the Beginning."

As a sociologist, I was also interested in obtaining a sense of the human responses to the conditions under which scientific and technical work was conducted in the totalitarian environment of Nazi Germany. Epochal work was being done. It was work that would literally begin the space age. While popular perception dates the beginning of the space age to thc famous Soviet Sputnik launch on October 4, 1957, in fact the first human-designed object ever to ascend into the environment of space was launched some 15 years and one day earlier, October 3, 1942. That object was the German A-4 rocket, launched from the Peenemünde test facility, reaching an altitude of over 80 km (50 miles) and a range of 192 km (120 miles).

Thus, at a place now almost forgotten, humanity began its ultimate adventure into the cosmos. As a realist, I know that the drive behind much of human technology has been the military advantage that it might give. As an idealist, I am opposed to the use of science to further human destructiveness. As a behavioral scientist, I wanted to understand how men refined by sophisticated scientific and technological training could be reduced to the service of tyranny and human oppression.

For over two decades I have had the privilege of associating with many of the members of the von Braun team both as a neighbor and as a scholar interested in the social impact of the space age. That association with these gentlemen who stood at the beginning of the space age has, I believe, given me some insight into the questions I have asked. It has always been difficult, at best, to discuss such matters with them. Even in the most relaxed of times, the subject is not an object of easy reflection. I had hoped that our project to videotape the remembrances of key scientific and technical personnel at Peenemünde would be able to probe for answers to difficult and sensitive moral and political questions. The news of the Rudolph case, and the fact that other members of the original rocket team were also under investigation by the Department of Justice, left a heavy pall over any such discussion. Many of the group who had originally agreed to hour-long video sessions decided that they did not wish to grant such an interview under the existing circumstances of rumor and suspicion. Television networks and newspapers were, at the time, contacting me in attempts to obtain materials that would be useful to assist in compiling their own reports on the possible connection of the Peenemünde Team to Nazi atrocities. Some members of the group who decided to go ahead with the interviews stipulated that as a condition for their appearance they would talk about the history and circumstances of technological development, but did not wish to enter into a discussion relating to politically sensitive subjects. Although circumstances made our project most difficult, a grant from the University of Alabama in Huntsville and assistance from the Huntsville affiliate of the Alabama Public Television Network permitted us to obtain 13 hours of videotaped interviews from a dozen members of the original Peenemünde rocket team, but for the reasons stated above I have relied more on information obtained in my 20 years of association with members of the Peenemünde team than on comments made directly in the video interviews.[2]

During the same period that we were recording the recollections of the Peenemünde pioneers, I, along with several of my students, was engaged in an in-depth analysis of the experience of the Los



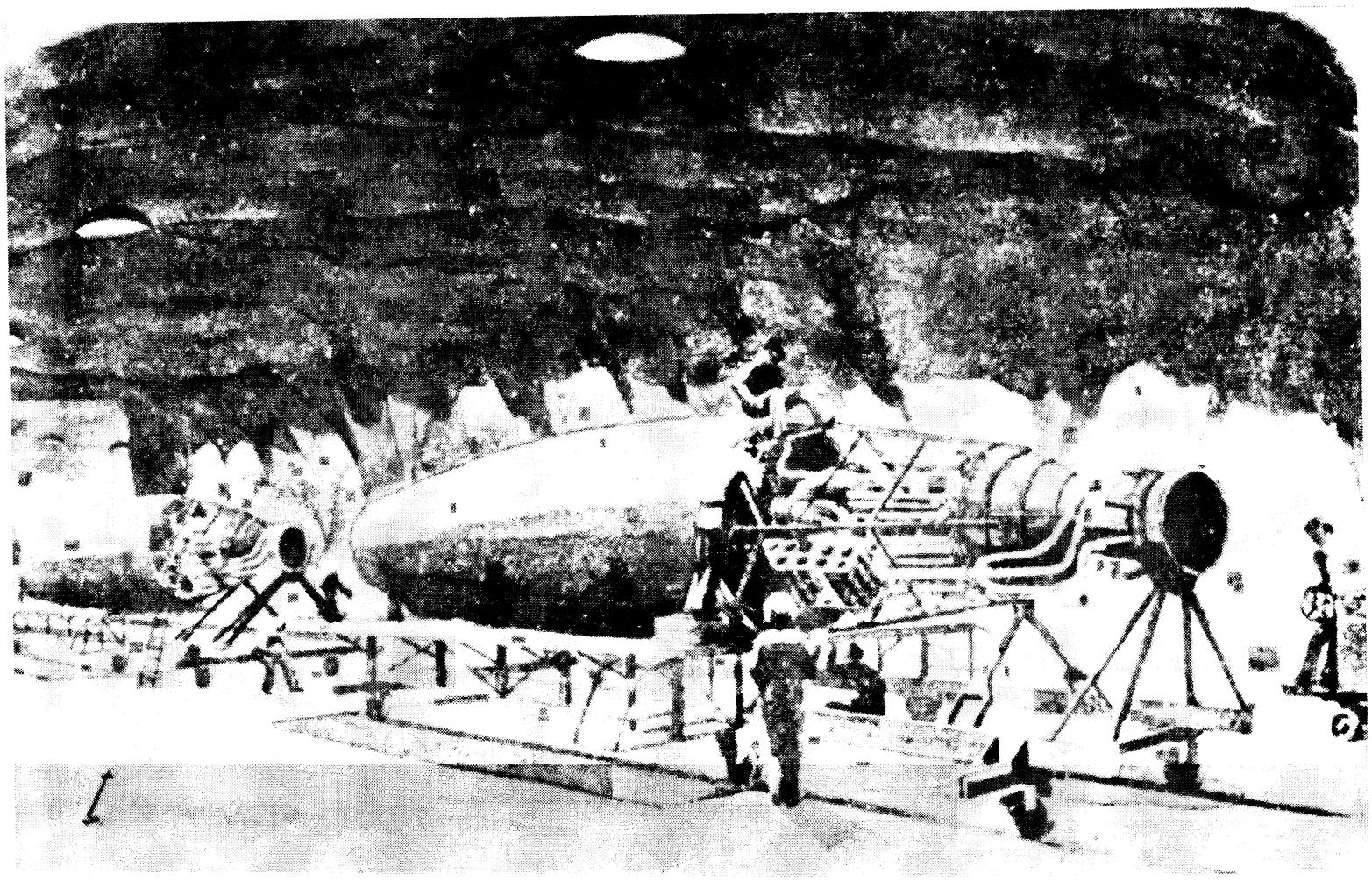
An A-4 missile — renowned as the V-2 weapon — is launched from a test stand in Peenemünde, 1942 or 1943.

Alamos atomic bomb team, directed by the late Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer. Through an extensive search of the literature and analysis of several hours of videotaped interviews with key members of that team, we compiled what we thought were some interesting points of comparison between the experiences of the members of the Los Alamos project and those working at Peenemünde. We felt that such a comparison could, perhaps, put the whole question of the moral and political posture of those at Peenemünde into somewhat sharper focus. In addition, I had at least two reasons to seek such a comparison. Firstly, taken together, the contributions of these two great technical teams made the age of intercontinental nuclear warfare possible. Secondly, these were ends not consistent with the motives that drove them in their youth.

The young men who were later to go Peenemünde and begin the space age dreamed of interplanetary space flight. Almost all of them with whom I have talked have specifically mentioned their thrill and excitement about the early German science fiction movie, *Frau im Mond* ("Girl on the Moon"). This Fritz Lang movie, filmed in consultation with the early Romanian space pioneer Hermann Oberth, stimulated an entire generation of young idealists into seeking careers in space technology. Likewise, as youths, the men who were to go to Los Alamos to begin the atomic age had their own captivating visions that stirred within them. The young Oppenheimer was intrigued by a box of minerals given to him as a gift and was soon exploring the rock formations of Central Park in New York City. At the age of 11 he was accepted into the New York Mineralogical Club. The young Edward Teller was seized by the excitement of science through the works of Jules Verne. The young Leo Szilard showed an almost prescient childhood fascination with the classic Hungarian poem of pessimism, *The Tragedy of Man*, which, perhaps, accounts in part for his lifelong mission to forestall nuclear tragedy.

The youthful dreams and aspirations of these men did not involve the development of weapons of destruction. Rather, they hoped as adults to understand the laws of nature and to travel into interplanetary space. The world as it was, however, demanded that their noble aspirations be put to the service of much less noble ends. Though they were to move to the very edge of human understanding, they could not escape the political, economic, and social forces of their time. Their dreams were laid aside while their professional talents were channelled into designing means of death and destruction. What types of readjustment are required for such an awesome redirection of one's own purpose for existence? This question led me to investigate the experiences of these two groups for answers.

Their members shared an early experience that an increasing number of scientists and technologists in our current world now face. Out of the processes set in motion at Peenemünde and Los Alamos, the world has now evolved a global militarized culture. A very substantial portion of scientists and technologists trained for participation in our modern world economy find themselves in a situation where their prime opportunity for employment and career development lies in the service of the international arms industry. As nations drain their resources in search of military superiority, many of the more productive and hopeful goals of humankind are cancelled or delayed. The experience of those at Peenemünde and Los Alamos may give us a fuller understanding of the forces that have increasingly put science and scientists in pursuit of destructive goals.



After a devastating Allied air raid on the Peenemünde center, production of V-1 and V-2 weapons was moved underground to the secret Dora "Mittelbau" or "Mittelwerk" facility. Some 30,000 persons, most of them foreign forced laborers, worked under appalling conditions in the noisy, crowded tunnels. In this drawing by a former forced laborer, a propulsion unit is mounted in an A-4 (V-2) missile.

Los Alamos and Peenemunde: A Sense of Perspective

In seeking to gain perspective through comparison of Los Alamos and Peenemünde, it is informative to consider the forces that led each group to come together as a team. Few of their members anticipated careers associated with the military establishments of their respective countries. Yet all of them found that the military was their prime avenue of career development.

In the case of the Peenemünde group, many of its members had been affiliated with small German rocket societies such as the Society for Space Travel (*Verein für Raumschiffahrt*, or VfR) that had been forming since the late 1920s.[3] While such organizations were not taken seriously in their early days, publicity that played upon the intriguing possibilities of interplanetary space flight made them an object of public curiosity.

Many accounts of German military developments prior to the Second World War suggest that the concept of the high-angle rocket appealed to German officialdom because it might offer a legal way around the restrictions placed on the development of artillery weapons in the Treaty of Versailles.[4] While a case be made for this, it should be remembered that development of potentially illegal artillery had been underway for some while. In the words of Dr. Georg von Tiesenhausen,[5]

> When I was drafted in 1936, I found the 8.8 cm anti-aircraft cannon already developed, including its advanced semi-automatic range finders, and velocity and direction indicators. This was a superior masterpiece of engineering development that must have started many years earlier.

Indeed, Dr. Gerhard Reisig points out that[6]

> The development of the '88' (as it was commonly called) had begun as early as 1929, in the Weimar Republic. Its use as a replacement for aging weapons was allowed under the treaty. However, the same weapon had great potential for anti-aircraft purposes, making it of questionable legality.

Given the general drift away from the strictest adherence to the standards of the Treaty of Versailles, even in the Weimar Republic, it is unlikely that legal questions overshadowed more practical

considerations of feasibility and economics in the earliest days of rocketry.

Early military development of German rocketry fell under the aegis of Walter Dornberger, an artillery captain who, in 1930, had graduated from the Technische Hochschule, Berlin. In the fall of 1932, Dornberger recruited Wernher von Braun as his chief technical assistant, thus making von Braun the ranking civilian in the rocket program. Subsequently von Braun obtained his doctorate in physics in 1934 at army expense. In the meantime, on 30 January 1933, Adolf Hitler had been officially appointed Chancellor and the Nazi Party of Germany quickly consolidated its power. Thus, as the Weimar Republic crumbled, the young von Braun was completing his formal education under circumstances that were to obligate him to serve the German army.

Leo Szilard

It should also be remembered that the Great Depression hit Germany with a vengeance. The severe economic climate motivated individuals to take employment anywhere it could be found, and, with the early rocketeers, it could be found only in the army. Neither German universities nor private industry showed the slightest interest in rocketry. At the best of times, private funding for studying rocket propulsion would have been most difficult to obtain, but, with the depression threatening the very survival of German industry, such a venture into basic research was out of the question. Arthur Rudolph, like so many of his counterparts, found himself without work and without money. Captain Dornberger moved through this cadre of unemployed engineers looking for ideas that might serve the army's interest in rocketry. From his recruitment efforts and from the lack of any available economic alternative, several young rocketeers were brought on to the government military payrolls. For reasons completely beyond their control, and toward ends that were divergent from their dreams, an increasing number of young German space visionaries found themselves in the service of a military establishment that was later to serve Nazi Germany.

As the activities of the early rocket pioneers grew, it became obvious that they would need a larger and more elaborate facility to test their new generation of vehicles. The first test facilities at Kummersdorf, some 25 kilometers south of Berlin, were rapidly becoming inadequate. The vicinity of the small fishing village of Peenemünde on the Baltic Coast seemed to provide the perfect place. First suggested to von Braun by his mother, the site offered isolation and a place to fire the still highly experimental vehicles. As political tensions heightened in Europe, the advanced guard of the Peenemünde team was almost totally preoccupied with the elaborate preparations involved in the opening of the world's first large-scale rocket test facility. The Army Research Center at Peenemünde became fully staffed in August 1939. On September 1, 1939, Hitler ordered his troops to invade Poland, thus formally beginning the Second World War. By 1942, the facility at Peenemünde employed 1,960 scientists and technicians and some 3,852 other workers. Work on rocket development was then proceeding at maximum intensity.

The nearly complete mobilization of German society in the course of the Second World War saw many individuals with scientific and technical skills pressed into the military service. Among the interview group was Dr./Lance Corporal Ernst Stuhlinger, who was serving on the Russian front as an infantryman when he received orders to report to Peenemünde. This was a place and a project of which he had never heard. Likewise, Konrad K. Dannenberg, an infantry lieutenant in France, was called away from the battlefield to join the rocket development center. For individuals such as these, the motivation was clear: build rockets or dodge bullets.

In contrast, the factors that led to the assembly of the Los Alamos atomic bomb team were remarkably different. The scientists who were to comprise the core group at Los Alamos came from the well-established scientific field of physics. Physics, as a discipline, had become increasingly important since the turn of the century, and had acquired respect in major universities. In Germany, however, with the rise of thc Nazi Party, the physics community had suffered a terrible blow. Fully 25 per cent of academic physicists in Germany, almost all Jewish, found themselves forced from their positions shortly after Hitler came to power. By 1934, one of every five institute directorships in Germany was vacant.[7] The number of physicists who left Germany was large, but the quality was truly astounding. Fascism flushed away the cream of European physics: Albert Einstein, Hans Bethe, Edward Teller, Leo Szilard, Eugene Wigner, John von Neumann, Michael Polanyi, Theodor von Karman, George de Hevesy, Felix Bloch, James Franck,

Lothar Nordheim, Enrico Fermi, Niels Bohr and Eugene Rabinowitch. Along with some sympathetic non-Jewish scientists such as Erwin Schrodinger and Martin Stobb, these men were to become the driving force behind atomic research in Britain and the USA.

Hence, there was a stark contrast between the unemployed and unknown engineers and technicians who were seeking affiliation with the German army, and the relatively affluent and widely known physicists who were leaving Germany in droves. Of the Peenemünde team, only a few members could be considered to have outstanding credentials in science. Among them were von Braun, with a Ph.D. in physics; Ernst Stuhlinger, also with a Ph.D. in physics; and Carl Wagner, a Ph.D. physical chemist. Engineers did not yet enjoy the status of scientists. As Ernst Stuhlinger stated:[8]

> According to my own observations, during the late twenties and the thirties, the general public held natural scientists in higher regard than philosophers. Engineers were considered with less awe than scientists, but their high value to society was well recognized—more than that of philosophers. *Engineer* covers a very broad field; engineers were never treated all alike. After all, engineers built the fabulous new airplanes and ocean liners, the worldwide telephone networks, and the television systems that began to appear during the mid 1930s, but engineers were also those simple-minded people who were at fault when the electric light did not work; when the car had a defect; when a train was late; or when the elevator got stuck between floors. The *scientist*, in the conception of the public, presented a far more homogeneous image than the *engineer*. There is no doubt that scientists found a far greater degree of respect than engineers in social circles during the 1920s and 1930s.

Even in the USA, in the 1950s and 1960s, it was not unusual to find lingering traces of status comparisons among certain scientists who sometimes referred to the transplanted Peenemünde Team as "von Braun's plumbers."

General Fellgiebel (left), head of German Army signals, congratulates Peenemünde-East Commander Colonel Leo Zanssen (center) after the first successful A-4 launch on October 3, 1942. Third from left, in Walter Dornberger, followed by Wernher von Braun. Second from right is Dr. Rudolf Hermann, head of Peenemünde wind tunnels, who was interviewed by Donald Tarter in writing the accompanying essay.

Stuhlinger continues:

> During the war, many things were different. From the standpoint of those who felt responsible for the conduct of the war, those scientists and engineers who contributed directly or indirectly to the war effort were, of course, of utmost importance. For Hitler and his immediate entourage, things were again different. Hitler did not like scientists (because they failed to rally around his flag), and he let them feel it. During the first years of the war, he denounced them, or at least neglected them, saying that he did not need them. He wanted production experts who could deliver large quantities of ammunition and other war *matériel*. He needed and wanted engineers who could help with that production. Only toward the end of the war, when things went badly for Germany, Hitler complained bitterly that his scientists had not provided him with the wonder weapons he would have needed to win the war.

This complaint, Stuhlinger insists was directed primarily at the scientific community, not the engineering and technical community. Hitler felt that his initial mistrust of scientists had been verified. These fuzzy minded dreamers had failed to deliver on their promises, not only in terms of rocket technology, but in terms of a host of land, air and sea weapons.

According to Stuhlinger, considerations of relative status were not a factor within Peenemünde itself. Scientists, engineers and technicians worked together without reference to privilege or prestige. Whatever the general public or the Führer thought of their relative merits, for practical purposes such

Hiroshima in the wake of the atomic bombing of August 6, 1945. Located directly below the epicenter of the blast are the ruins of Sei hospital. The blast from the single bomb dropped on the metropolis completely destroyed more than four square miles of the city center, immediately killing about 90,000 people. Another 40,000 were injured, of whom many died later of radiation sickness.

considerations were unimportant.[9]

Neither the community of Jewish physicists nor the community of non-Jewish scientists and engineers was particularly active politically. The prevailing attitude of both was, insofar as possible, to ignore the political world and get on with their chosen professions. There were exceptions, most notably among the academic physicists such as Szilard, Bohr and Schrodinger, but the activist attitude was not the norm. Alan D. Beyerchen, in his study of thc political posture of the physics community in the Third Reich, refers to this attitude as a form of "inner migration."[10] Edward Teller expressed much the same early rejection of political involvement by noting that the continuing European political difficulties forced him to be "enveloped in the feeling that only science is lasting."[11]

In Germany, this apolitical posture was even more pronounced for the Peenemünde group. At least three reasons can be identified that may account for this. First, their educational backgrounds had certainly not prepared or predisposed them to ask political questions or seek out political activities. Second, as they gravitated toward the closed and restricted environments of Kummersdorf and later Peenemünde, they became progressively more isolated from the intellectual currents at play in the cities and in the universities. Third, and perhaps most important, their lot was improving under the rule of the Third Reich. For the most part, the men of Peenemünde were plain, practical men, mostly members of the *volkisch* ideal, the German or Nordic middle class. Their training was in practical, not theoretical matters. They were, in the eyes of the Aryan thinkers, the finest example of native German utilitarianism.

Hitler's Aryan ideology even found its way into physics, in a movement led by two Nobel laureates, Philipp Lenard and Johannes Stark.[12] Perhaps the most prominent statement of the philosophy of Aryan physics can be found in Lenard's *Deutsche Physik*, published in four volumes during 1936 and 1937.[13] Aryan physics proclaimed the applied and experimental over the theoretical. Applied physics was German; theoretical physics was Jewish. Technology was preferred over theory. Non-Jewish German theoretical physicists such as Heisenberg were chastised for bringing a Jewish spirit to German physics, yet statements from the Peenemünde group tend to confirm the failure of Aryan physics to become an influential part of German physics, even in the darkest days of the push toward ideological conformity. Physicist Ernst Stuhlinger observes,

> When Lenard's book, *Deutsche Physik*, was published, it met with head shaking and amazement among colleagues. We young physicists read a few pages out of curiosity, and then put it aside. I remember that Hans Geiger once said to a group of students, "This is all very strange. One cannot do away with the facts of physics just like that. I'm so surprised that Lenard should have digressed so far; he used to be a very fine experimenter." Under the circum-

> stances, it was very courageous for Geiger to say that much. We students got the message. I remember that I was very glad to have this assurance and confirmation of my own thoughts.

Stuhlinger goes on to confirm Alan Beyerchen's observations that Aryan physics was very ill-defined, and fraught with internal contradictions.[14]

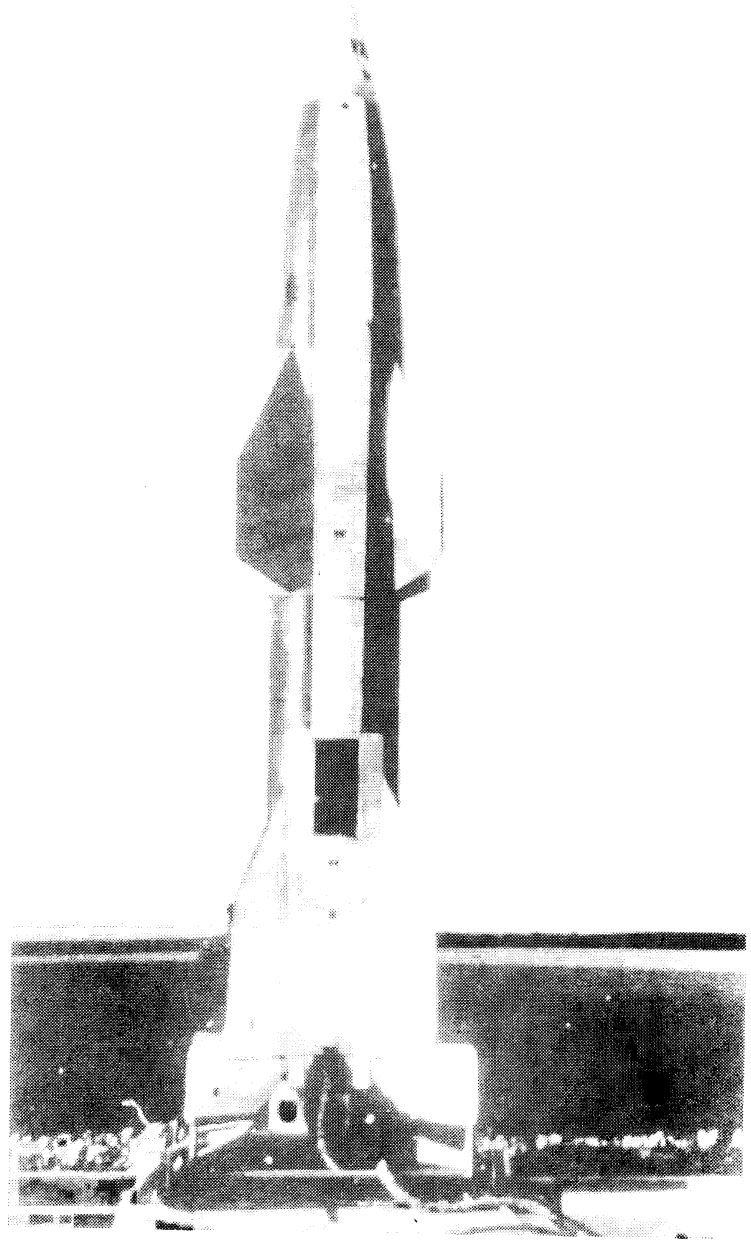
> The names connected with Aryan physics were Lenard, Stark, Tomaschek and a few hot-headed students, but that was an extremely small minority among the hundreds of physicists who were active at universities at the time. Lenard, Stark and Tomaschek were really ostracized. Physics was taught as *usual*, with Einstein's relativity, Bohr's atom model, Heisenberg's and Schrodinger's quantum mechanics, Pauli's principle, etc.

Gerhard Reisig, who was in the field of engineering physics, dismissed Lenard and Stark as being thought of as eccentric old men, opportunists seeking to resurrect their declining careers.[15] Georg von Tisenhausen thinks they had virtually no influence in the practical or intellectual activities of engineers. In his words, "Aryan Physics? I never heard of it."[16]

Hence, as the 1930s drew to a close, we see an interesting phenomenon among the community of German scientists and technologists. Large numbers of an old intellectual elite had been dethroned, while a new and emergent elite of physicists and engineers was assuming command. Pressures for ideological conformity were apparent, even to the most politically detached, but an ideological physics was destined to be stillborn.

The historical trap was set. The engineers and technicians bound for Peenemünde were absorbed by new and seemingly unlimited opportunities. The rush of excitement and the promise to be able to pursue the long-held dream of opening thc door to the cosmos dimmed their already feeble propensity to question political policy. The Peenemünde team was lured into a political and moral lethargy that would later be enforced by the powers of a police state.

The Jewish physicists who were destined to become a major component of the yet-to-be Los Alamos team were busily directing their efforts toward the rescue of their families and colleagues. What little time was left was spent urging the British and American governments to prepare to develop the ultimate weapon against Fascism: the atomic bomb. Those who were to be at the core of the Los Alamos team were made callous by the human outrages occurring around them. In the process, their concerns for survival surpassed the moral questions raised by a weapon of mass destruction.



A "Wasserfall" ("Waterfall") test rocket on the launch pad in 1944. This anti-aircraft guided missile was the second major project at Peenemünde during the last two years of the war.

Social scientist have long held that moral questions can only be understood within the context of their times. Perhaps that is why so many members of these two technical teams answer the probes of modern moral investigators with the response, "You just don't understand."

The War Years

The Peenemünde research facility became fully operational in August 1939. It was not until April 1943 that the Los Alamos atomic development facility was opened. Some comparisons of these two major research and development facilities are useful in understanding the behavior of those who worked at each. Both facilities were secret and isolated. Peenemünde had nearly 6,000 operational

personnel at its height, the Los Alamos facility had a total workforce of nearly 5,000. Both facilities were heavily dependent upon support facilities in other parts of their respective countries. In Germany, these support facilities were increasingly disabled by Allied attacks as the war progressed. In the United States, the support facilities were secure and increasingly grew more productive. Peenemünde itself came under direct bombing attack in August 1943. Los Alamos never had such concerns. The mission at Peenemünde was open-ended and growing. It was assigned to develop, produce and supply an increasing variety of rocket-propelled vehicles for military use. The mission at Los Alamos was singular and finite: produce an atomic weapon. Both Peenemünde and Los Alamos operated under a military commander: General Walter Dornberger in Germany and General Leslie R. Groves in the United States. Both project directors were civilian scientists — Dr. Wernher von Braun and Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer — and both were natives of their respective countries. Peenemünde operated in the totalitarian environment of war-ravaged Germany, whereas Los Alamos operated in the more open and democratic environment of a secure United States. Because collaborative scientific and technological enterprises require a great deal of free discussion and exchange of ideas, both facilities seemed to maintain a good deal of internal freedom with regards to discussion of the best strategies to achieve their stated mission. Open discussion of other applications of technologies, most specifically space travel, were forbidden at Peenemünde, and political discussions were most certainly forbidden, while at Los Alamos the political ramifications of the work were an open but infrequently discussed topic.

From the date the Peenemünde facility became fully operational to the date of the first successful A-4 test, October 3, 1942, there was a lapse of three years and two months. From the date that Los Alamos opened to the first successful test of the atomic bomb at the Trinity Site, July 1945, there was a lapse of two years and three months. The time from the first successful A-4 test launch in October 1942 to its first successful military use in September 1944 was one year and eleven months. The less complex V-1 weapon was ready some two and a half months earlier and was first used on the battlefield on June 13, 1944. The time from the test of the atomic weapon at the Trinity site in New Mexico on July 16, 1945, to its first use in warfare at Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, was a mere three weeks. Credible analysts estimate that the German V-weapon effort cost approximately three billion war-time US dollars. The Manhattan atomic bomb project cost approximately two billion dollars.[17]

While it is impossible to judge with quantitative certainty, the general conditions under which the two research and development facilities existed, and the missions they were assigned to accomplish, suggest that the task faced by the Peenemünde group was more difficult than that faced at Los Alamos. The industrial, university, and governmental support facilities that were necessary for the completion of the Manhattan Project were enormous, and they were located in a country that was not under direct attack. The administrative and production challenges faced by Peenemünde, being open-ended and constantly subject to disruptions through enemy attack, were far greater than those of Los Alamos.

The Peenemünde facility first came under direct attack with the Allied aerial bombardment of August 17, 1943. Although the Royal Air Force specifically intended its mission to kill as many of the expert technical and administrative personnel as possible, in fact only two key figures were killed, Walter Thiel and Erich Walther. Seven hundred and thirty-three other individuals died in the raids, and major damage was done to personnel housing and development works. Following the Peenemünde bombing, systematic raids were launched against supporting assembly plants and hydrogen peroxide production facilities. Peenemünde itself was not bombed again for almost a year, and never with the same intensity. This was because intelligence reports indicated that much of the testing and production had been moved elsewhere.[18] Helmut Zoike, the engineer at the control panel who actually launched the first human object in space, stated in our interviews that "The bombings came too late to hinder the A-4 development, this was already done. The raids were, also, too early to interfere with deployment. It really came at a very opportune time from the German perspective."[19] Thus, the actual raid on Peenemünde was not as crippling to the program as the continuing raids on support facilities.

It was, nevertheless, in an increasing atmosphere of desperation that the decision was made to move rocket production underground into the infamous Mittelwerk facility. This site was the location of an old gypsum mine in the Harz Mountains in north-west Germany. The conversion from mine to missile-production facility was a harsh and dirty task, performed under intense pressure, and using forced labor from a mixture of criminals, homosexuals, prisoners of war and political prisoners. Von Braun described the conditions of the labor force at Mittelwerk as "horrible;" Albert Speer used the term "barbarous;" and Arthur Rudolph calls the treatment of prisoners "primitive" and "awful." Prisoners were literally worked to death or exposed to such unsanitary conditions that they died of dis-

ease. Those who resisted faced summary execution. Bodies were disposed of in a local crematory. Only eleven months after General Dornberger had proclaimed the A-4 vehicle to have opened the doorway to the heavens, it was being produced in the dungeons of hell.[20]

The universal question asked by students of the history of technology and ethics comes here. Did the Peenemünde personnel know the composition of the Mittelwerk task force? Clearly, they did. Were they personally terrified, or did they shrug off the barbarities because it was the job that mattered? It has been their position that it was thc former: their welfare and the welfare of their families depended on their compliance with the situation as it was. Given the tyranny and the desperation of the Nazi regime, this seems a distinct possibility. Social science has no power to read the minds and motives of human beings. We can describe events, describe the behavior of individuals in those events, and record their explanations of their behavior. It is up to the student of history to interpret his or her acceptance of those explanations.

Rudolph, and others at Mittelwerk, were frequently reminded that they too could join the forced labor teams if they did not fully cooperate with the SS authorities. Previously, in March 1943, Wernher and Magnus von Braun, Klaus Riedel, Helmut Grottrup and Hannes Luhrsen had been arrested by the (Gestapo at Peenemünde and charged with treason for describing the A-4 as a space vehicle rather than a weapon of war. Obviously, this arrest was not over mere semantics, but was designed as a warning to key members of the team that nobody was immune from the force of SS control.

The madness of war became complete. German atrocities at home and in occupied territories mushroomed. This was followed by the growing insensitivity to human suffering on the part of the Allies. In July 1943, the mostly civilian city of Hamburg was fire-bombed, and in one night 45,000 Germans died — most of them old people, women and children.[21] Other cities such as Cologne and Dresden were to suffer the same fate. Hostility had escalated into mutual barbarity. With these developments, the world's first generation of space vehicles changed their name from A-weapons, which innocuously meant assembly, to V-weapons, in which the V meant, ominously "vengeance" *(Vergeltung).*

By comparison, the scene surrounding the isolated mesa that was home to the Los Alamos laboratory appeared almost serene. Here, desperation was nowhere apparent on the landscape, but, rather, was hidden in the emotions and fears of the men who labored frantically against a possibility that proved eventually to be a phantasm. These scientist worked with a fair certainty that Japan would not be able to develop the atomic bomb, but there was much less certainty about what the German potential might be. In their minds, the real enemy was Germany. Japan was a force to be dealt with after the demise of Hitler was assured. Emotional responses to the Third Reich were unusually intense because of the personal associations that many at Los Alamos had with the Third Reich. Several, including Oppenheimer, had relatives who were suffering and dying under Nazi persecution. Whether they shared personal experience or not — Jewish, non-Jewish, American-born and foreign-born — all at Los Alamos were melded together into a coordinated and determined force to produce the agent of mass destruction that they knew was possible.

Motivations had been internalized. These men did not work under the threat of midnight arrest. There was no possibility of being assigned to forced-labor parties. They worked voluntarily for a cause they considered essential. This, too, made the task at Los Alamos easier. There were reservations expressed and even some resignations, but the team as a whole had an *esprit de corps* that was remarkable.

Interestingly, from a behavioral science point of view, the positive *esprit de corps* at Los Alamos had its counterpart in a sort of "negative" *esprit de corps* at Peenemünde and Mittelwerk. Dr. Paul Figge, who was a major figure in A-4 production, described it thus:[22]

> The bombings hardly affected progress on the A-4 program, because our enthusiasm still remained high to accomplish the goal. So actually, the more difficult the conditions became, the more the enthusiasm grew to finish what we had begun. "Enjoy the war — the peace will be terrible" was the motto.

Caught up as they were in the enthusiasm for their task, members of the Los Alamos team, as well as their Peenemünde counterparts, were to come to accept and take pleasure in the pernicious products of their science and technology. No member of the Los Alamos team, during the course of his work, ever had to witness a summary execution. No member ever lost one of his immediate family or a close colleague to enemy bombing. No member of the Los Alamos team ever had to look into the wretchedly pitiful face of a slave laborer dying in the process of being forced to serve a cause he detested. Yet the war culture prevailed. Its all-consuming power instilled into the Los Alamos team a growing callousness that effectively precluded deep moral and ethical reflection on the ultimate consequences of their deeds.

Donald A. Strickland, in his study of the atomic

scientists' political movement of 1945 and 1946, notes that at Los Alamos there was "no political arousal before the end of the war, save for a few private conversations." He calls this an "arresting" fact, considering that the politically active Niels Bohr, Enrico Fermi, Eugene Wigner and Leo Szilard were frequent visitors to this remote site.[23] The drive to achieve the task was too intense for reflection. It was after the grisly weapon was a *fait accompli* that the ponderous questions of morality were asked.

Fermi moved to Los Alamos in September 1944. Although he was technically an enemy alien until his American citizenship was granted in 1945, he was allowed to become a lab director. Bohr, on the other hand, had incurred the severe displeasure of *Winston Churchill* over his insistence that the Soviets be informed as to the existence of the weapon and invited to collaborate in a scheme of international control. Bohr had further made unauthorized disclosures about the project to Chief Justice Felix Frankfurter. It has been reported that, for this, Churchill was on the edge of ordering Bohr's arrest.[24] Roosevelt adopted Churchill's position and became extremely cool toward Bohr. Despite these political difficulties, Bohr was allowed a major consultancy role at Los Alamos. These two cases seem to demonstrate that the practical matter of building the bomb was placed above political questions about those who were building it. It is not likely that the same lenience would have been extended to the key technical personnel on the Peenemünde team.

While most at Los Alamos simply lost themselves in the task at hand, there were more glaring examples of growing insensitivity to humanitarian considerations. From the time Edward Teller arrived, he set his sights not on the mission at hand, but the even greater destructive potential of the hydrogen bomb, or the "super," as he almost affectionately called it. Teller eventually refused to work under Hans Bethe on further calculations concerning mere fission weapons, and was given his own small group at the laboratory for investigation of the, development of a thermonuclear weapon.[25]

In addition to this minority thrust toward overkill, there was a disquieting theoretical possibility that the ignition of the fission weapon might just produce enough heat to cause a reaction between deuterium and nitrogen, and thereby set fire to the world's atmosphere. On hearing this, Oppenheimer immediately set Hans Bethe to work checking Teller's initial calculations. Was this, the ultimate catastrophe, really possible? For the first but not the last time in history, human beings had to make a decision as to whether a task at hand was worth the risk — albeit infinitesimal — of ending our collective existence. The logic we used then may give us a hint of the logic we shall have to use again.

According to Teller, the matter was firmly laid to rest in 1942, when some of his initial calculations were found to be in error. As Peter Goodchild notes in his classic study of Oppenheimer, several scientists were, over the next three years, to make the same calculations as Teller; and because Teller's initial calculations had been kept secret, they too came to Oppenheimer with great alarm.[26] Calculations were checked and rechecked right up to 1945, shortly before the first test detonation at the Trinity site. Rumors of the potential total human catastrophe had become so widespread among all levels of personnel at Los Alamos that the authorities drew up contingency plans for psychiatrists at the Oak Ridge facility to be flown to Los Alamos should panic ensue. Arthur H. Compton has said that his group calculated a three-in-a-million chance of destroying the world, and that was an acceptable risk. Edward Teller, on the other hand, insists that they were able to dismiss the possibility entirely. At that time such statements of high confidence seemed most reassuring.[27] Looking back from the perspective of a generation that has heard similar confident risk assessments before events such as Three Mile Island, Chernobyl and the space shuttle *Challenger*, those expressions of high confidence sound more hollow.

A final observation on the darker face of Los Alamos is now in order. The prevailing pathos of the general culture had affected all who labored there, but perhaps the extent to which it had changed basic human values is best illustrated by J. Robert Oppenheimer himself. Based on information recently obtained under the Freedom of Information Act, Joseph Rotblat, a physicist who assisted in bomb design, and one of the few who left prior to project completion, relates the following story. In a letter dated May 25, 1943, from Oppenheimer to Enrico Fermi, the issue of using radioactive materials to poison German food supplies was raised. Oppenheimer was asking Fermi whether he could produce enough strontium without letting too many in on the secret. Oppenheimer continued, "I think we should not attempt a plan unless we can poison food sufficient to kill a half a million men." Rotblat offers the following observation, "I am sure that in peacetime these same scientists would have viewed such a plan as barbaric; they would not have contemplated it even for a moment. Yet, during the war, it was considered quite seriously, and I presume, abandoned only because it was technically unfeasible."[28]

Richard Rhodes comments on the same incident as follows, "There is no better evidence anywhere in the record of the increasing bloody-mindedness of the Second World War than that Robert Oppenheimer, a man who professed at various times in his

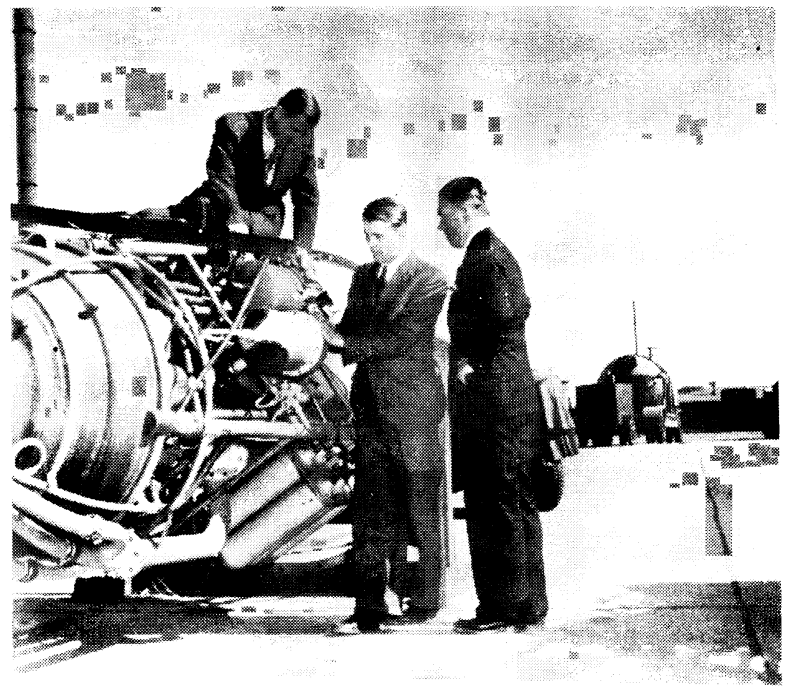
life to be dedicated to *Ahisma* (the Sanskrit word that means doing no harm or hurt ...) could write with enthusiasm of preparations for the mass poisoning of as many as five hundred thousand human beings."[29]

After The War

Their accomplishment in the Second World War made the members of the Los Alamos and Peenemünde teams into legends. Their actions and statements after the war shaped and moulded the public perceptions of these legends, yet the environments that the two groups faced after the war were radically different. It is those differences that have done much to shape our postwar evaluations of them. Members of the teams at Peenemünde and Mittelwerk fled their posts as the Allied forces closed their grip around Germany in early 1945. They arranged a rendezvous at a small Austrian village named Reutte. There they surrendered to the American forces, and their journey to the United States began. The code name Project Paperclip was given to this movement. Some 118 individuals comprised the first group of Peenemünde personnel coming to the USA. Later, several hundred additional individuals, including family and colleagues, joined them. One member of the core group, Helmut Grottrup, decided to remain in what was to become East Germany and work with the Soviet missile program. A small cadre of other German rocket personnel joined him and were later transferred to the Soviet Union.

From the time von Braun and his group surrendered until some years after their arrival at Fort Bliss, Texas, they remained, as Ordway and Sharpe put it, "prisoners of peace."[30] They were allowed substantial freedom of movement and association, but they were subject to governmental restrictions and objects of continued surveillance by the FBI and other government agencies. Although acceptance by the American public was generally polite, some degree of suspicion and hostility was occasionally apparent. In contrast, the key figures at Los Alamos, their mission completed for the most part, sought to leave weapons work and return to academic environments. They did so with an enhanced prestige that made them instant scientific celebrities wherever they went. They existed in an atmosphere of honor and respect, and they were encouraged to express their views freely on what they had done and what it might mean for our future.

There was pressure on the atomic scientists to help us think about the new issues we faced in the nuclear age. Their academic settings made this possible. Their organization into politically active groups and their launch of the influential *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* were reflections of this type of



Martin Schilling, Wernher von Braun and Ernst Steinhoff (left to right) inspect a V-2 (A-4) rocket motor at the White Sands Proving Ground, New Mexico, in 1946.

environment. But for those who had come from Peenemünde, conditions were very different. Between 1945 and 1950, there was little public discussion of their role or their activities. They worked for thc US army on the remote missile test ranges of Texas and New Mexico and their actions were shrouded in secrecy. Occasional announcements of V-2 launching were made, but very little was said about the German team that assisted. The United States government was still too uncertain about the possible public reaction to play up the presence of these men from Peenemünde.

It was not until the early 1950s that the public began to learn of the activities of these men. Shifting as they did from the sparsely populated regions of Texas and New Mexico to the more populated regions surrounding Huntsville, Alabama, they came increasingly to public attention. The focus of publicity was on Dr. Wernher von Braun. His charismatic manner and his ability to capture public attention were immediately apparent. He began to publish books such as *Across the Space Frontier, Man on the Moon*, and *Mars Project* in the early 1950s. As these works came to public attention, the Cold War intensified. With the advent of the Soviet launch of Sputnik, in October 1957, attention focused on the Germans at Huntsville. The USA increasingly began to look to them to save its international prestige by answering the Soviet challenge with its own successful orbital vehicle. After dismal failures by the Navy in its Vanguard program, von Braun's team at Huntsville was given the task and, on January 31, 1958, the Redstone rocket lifted the

Ernst Stuhlinger, Hermann Oberth and Wernher von Braun (standing, left to right), with their wives, Irmgard Stuhlinger, Tilly Oberth, and Maria von Braun, 1957.

USA's first satellite, Explorer I, into orbit. The space age for the United States had now really begun, and Dr. Wernher von Braun was its leader.

The passions of the late 1950s and 1960s were assertive and not reflective. This was mirrored in von Braun's writings, which became commonplace in the scientific and popular press. These. dealt almost entirely with the prospects of new hardware in space and new missions for space vehicles. The more sensitive subject of science and its relation to political and foreign policy issues was almost never discussed. By contrast, the atomic scientists made such issues their central focus.

Suspicions concerning the historical role of the Peenemünde team were occasionally expressed in public dialogue in the late 1960s and 1970s, but they were seldom answered by the team itself. Their continued affiliation with the Army, and later NASA, dampened any thoughts of embroiling themselves in controversial questions. After the successful Apollo Lunar Program there was a feeling among several of von Braun's close associates that he was a victim of lingering prejudice against Germans by not being considered for the top job at NASA. His resignation from NASA in 1972 was rumored to be a result of such prejudices but, in traditional low-key style, he and his colleagues shied away from discussion of such allegations. When we sought clarification on this point for our project, Stuhlinger, Reisig and von Tiesenhausen all confirmed that they felt prejudice was a factor. But all agreed that it was more than just prejudice. As Stublinger pointed out,[31]

> At the time when the first American satellite was planned, 1955-57, there were people who thought that an American satellite should be built by native Americans, not naturalized immigrants — who even had been enemies less than ten years earlier. That attitude was probably the real reason why the Navy-supported Vanguard, and not the Army-supported Explorer, was America's satellite project for the 1957-1958 International Geophysical Year. However, in my talks with large numbers of people who knew von Braun, it is clear that the true reason was neither von Braun's background as a builder of rockets for the German Army, nor a lingering prejudice against Germans in general, but "very simple human jealousy." Von Braun's popularity was extraordinary, not only with the public and the news media, but also, with Congress. For some within the high ranks of NASA, this was just too much to bear.

Reisig noted that "We found out that Americans like success but not too much success."[32]

In a strange historical irony, the leaders of these two great scientific and technical teams met their final demise in much the same way. Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer's career with government came to an end with a denial of his security clearance because of past political associations. However, professional jealousy was also a key part of this decision. In the Oppenheimer case, the principal source of opposition has been identified as Edward Teller, who, in the words of Peter Goodchild, saw Oppenheimer as "a man of rival power and opposite persuasion."[33] Likewise, von Braun's fate was sealed by the same combination of past political associations and professional rivalry. Oppenheimer received strong expressions of support from his colleagues and stirred much public debate. With von Braun, there was a minimum of public discussion. Right up until 1984, when the US Department of Justice completed its investigation of Dr. Arthur Rudolph and he chose to leave the country rather than face trial, the Peenemünde team avoided public controversy.

The news of the Rudolph affair shook the German group. Virtually all had now retired and were free to express themselves on events in Germany. Some did, but most felt that their best interest could be served by remaining silent. Indeed, many long decades of silence about the political winds that had constantly buffeted them throughout their careers had crippled their capacity for public expression about these issues. It was as if by spending a lifetime in difficult circumstances where silence was the seeming solution, when public expression was demanded they had no capacity for it. At this point, they as a group, their ranks now thinned by death and debility, stood wounded and demoralized. Their

great goal of leading the moon race, though accomplished, had been followed not by respect but by what they perceived as a sense of public rejection.

Los Alamos and Peenemunde: A Reflection

Now, nearly 50 [sic] years after the last great war, emotions have not yet cooled enough to look dispassionately upon events of that epoch. The exile of Dr. Rudolph and some lingering pressures to investigate other members of the Peenemünde group attest to this fact. It is not the purpose of this article to attempt to assess guilt or innocence of any individual, or to try to place a moral judgment on either team. It is to place them side by side and note the points of similarity and thc points of contrast. In so doing, I have sought to show that both were the product of the peculiar and seemingly pathological forces of their time. Nearly 13,000 individuals died as a result of the machines built by the men of Peenemunde. This death toll was dwarfed by the 340,000 individuals who ultimately died as a result of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In the context of those times, such numbers became mere abstractions in a cultural ambience that had come to accept the atrocity of mass annihilation. Today, perhaps, we can look at these figures with some sense of perspective.[34]

We may conclude from this contrasting viewpoint of these two great technological teams that human evaluations are not based on absolute deeds, but upon the relationship of those deeds to a larger cultural and historical context. The Los Alamos team stands as an honored and esteemed group to which individuals still proudly claim affiliation. The Peenemünde team, to this day, prefers a low profile and elicits a curious public response. As the remaining members of both teams now live out their final days, they must examine their own consciences, ponder their own products and judge their own role in history. Their experience has taught those of us who would pass judgment that technology in service to war and its weapons brings, to those who prepare such weapons, honor or disgrace based not upon the lethal impact of their work but upon the moral judgments that are defined by the victors and endured by the vanquished.

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2. The videotaped interviews are available through the library of the University of Alabama in Huntsville or the library of the United States Space and Rocket Center, Huntsville. The author would like to thank the following individuals for their willingness to participate in this project: Konrad K. Dannenberg, Jim Fagan, Rudolph Hermann, Otto Hirschler, Dieter K. Huzel, Fritz K Müller, Willibald Prasthofer, Eberhard Rees, Wernher K. Rosinski, Gerhard Reisig, Ernst Stuhlinger, Georg von Tiesenhausen and Helmut Zoike. This is a revised and expanded edition of a paper presented at the 38th Annual Congress of the International Astronautical Federation, Brighton, United Kingdom, October 1987.
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19. As stated by Helmut Zoike in the video interviews: "Our Future in Space: Messages from the Beginning" (Library, University of Alabama in Huntsville and the archives of the United States Space and Rocket Center).
20. This refers to General Dornberger's talk on the evening of October 3, 1942, the date of the first successful A-4 launch, in which he stated that "We have invaded space with our rocket for the first time." See F. Ordway and M. Sharpe, *The Rocket Team*, cited above, p. 42.
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33. P. Goodchild, *J. Robert Oppenheimer,* cited above, p. 252, indicates the rivalry between Oppenheimer and Teller.
34. These figures were obtained from F. Ordway and M. Sharpe, *The Rocket Team*, cited above, pp. 734, 740. Various studies produce different numbers, but these seem to be approaching the norm of estimates.

Build Soil

My friends all know I'm interpersonal.
But long before I'm interpersonal
Away 'way down inside I'm personal.
Just so before we're international
We're national and act as nationals.
The colors are kept unmixed on the palette,
Or better on dish plates all around the room,
So the effect when they are mixed on canvas
May seem almost exclusively designed.
Some minds are so confounded intermental
They remind me of pictures on a palette:? "Look
at what happened. Surely some God pinxit.
Come look at my significant mud pie."
It's hard to tell which is the worst abhorrence
Whether it's persons pied or nations pied.
Don't let me seem to say the exchange, the
encounter,
May not be the important thing at last.
It may well be. We meet — I don't say when —
But must bring to the meeting the maturest,
The longest-saved-up, raciest, localest
We have strength of reserve in us to bring.

— Robert Frost, from "Build Soil:
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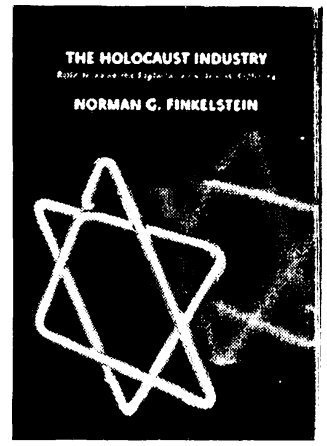

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The Great Challenge Facing the West

Today more or less everywhere — in the Far East, India, South America, South Africa — industrial regions are in being, or coming into being, which, owing to their low scales of wages, confront us with a deadly competition. The unassailable privileges of the white nations have been thrown away, squandered, betrayed. The others have caught up with their instructors. Possibly — with the cunning of the colored races and the over-ripe intelligence of their ancient civilizations — they have surpassed them.

Where there is coal, petroleum or water-power, there a new weapon can be forged against the heart of Faustian [Western] civilization. The exploited world is beginning to take its revenge on its masters. The countless hands of the colored races — at least as clever, and far less demanding — will shatter the economic organization of the whites at its foundation. The accustomed luxury of the white worker, in contrast to that of the coolie, will be his doom. The labor of the white is itself becoming superfluous. The huge masses of men centered in the Northern coal areas, the great industrial works, the capital invested in them, whole cities and districts, threaten to succumb to the competition. The center of gravity of production is steadily shifting away from them, especially given that even the colored races' respect for the whites came to an end with the [First] World War. This is the real and final basis of the unemployment that prevails in the white countries. It is no mere crisis, but the beginning of a catastrophe ...

Faced as we are with this destiny, there is only one world-outlook that is worthy of us, that which has already been mentioned as the Choice of Achilles — better a short life, full of deeds and glory, than a long life without content. Already the danger is so great, for every individual, every class, every nation, that to cherish any illusion whatever is deplorable. The march of time cannot be halted; there is no question of prudent retreat or clever renunciation. Only dreamers believe there is a way out. Optimism is *cowardice*.

We are born into this time and must bravely follow the path to the destined end. There is no other way. Our duty is to hold on to the lost position, without hope, without rescue, like that Roman soldier whose bones were found in front of a door in Pompeii, who died at his post during the eruption of Vesuvius because someone forgot to relieve him. That is greatness. That is what it means to be a thoroughbred. The honorable end is the one that can *not* be taken from a man.

— Oswald Spengler, *Der Mensch und die Technik* (Munich: C.H. Beck: 1931), pages 86-89.

Visit www.ihr.org

IHR Internet Web Site Offers Worldwide Access to Revisionism

On its own Internet web site, **www.ihr.org**, the Institute for Historical Review makes available an impressive selection of IHR material, including dozens of IHR *Journal* articles and reviews. It also includes a listing of every item that has ever appeared in this Journal, as well as the complete texts of *The Zionist Terror Network*, "The Leuchter Report," and Kulaszka's encyclopedic work *Did Six Million Really Die?*. New material is added as time permits.

Key words can be located in any of the site's items using a built-in search capability.

Through the IHR web site, revisionist scholarship is instantly available to millions of computer users worldwide, free of censorship by governments or powerful special interest groups. It can be reached 24 hours a day from around the globe through the World Wide Web (WWW), a multimedia Internet service.

Journal associate editor Greg Raven maintains and operates this site as its "webmaster." Because it is linked to several other revisionist (and anti-revisionist) web sites, visitors can easily access vast amounts of additional information.

The IHR web site address is
http://www.ihr.org
E-mail messages can be sent to
ihr@ihr.org

"If the Germans had dropped atomic bombs on cities instead of us, we would have defined the dropping of atomic bombs on cities as a war crime, and we would have sentenced the Germans who were guilty of this crime to death at Nuremberg and hanged them."

— Leo Szilard

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relates what he has learned in his role as lead attorney in an ongoing class action suit that targets ADL's vast spy operation, in concert with corrupt police officials in America and Israeli spy and police agencies, against American citizens. Inside information on how the Zionist lobby targeted his political career (and those of other loyal Americans); on how Jewish pressure prevented Stanford from hiring world-class historian Norman Davies; on how, and why, the Lobby works the way it does. A witty, wise, enlightening presentation from that contemporary rarity: a courageous, thoughtful, and independent man in public life. 90 min. (#A152) $9.95

My Revisionist Method

Robert Faurisson

The man who made revisionism a household word in his native France goes back to his own revisionist beginnings, and then to the frontiers of revisionism today, in this sparkling lecture. Professor Faurisson recounts how his youthful studies in Greek and Latin, followed by his celebrated deciphering of the meaning of such difficult modern poets as Rimbaud and Lautréaumont, guided him to his revisionist method: simple, "nuts and bolts," free of pedantry, going to the center of things. In an unforgettable performance, Faurisson reveals how his "No holes, no Holocaust!" challenge springs directly from this method, shares amusing details from his conversation with Deborah Lipstadt, and updates his critique of the Anne Frank "diary." 90 min. (#A154) $9.95

The Unknown Dr. Nyiszli: Auschwitz Witness

Charles Provan

The credibility of Miklos Nyiszli, whose "memoirs" have promoted the Auschwitz myth to millions, bites the dust in this informative lecture. Independent researcher Charles Provan answers questions and dispels myths about the "doctor at Auschwitz" that have gone unchallenged for decades: Nyiszli's German medical schooling; his prewar trip to America; the whoppers on the Auschwitz crematories in Nyiszli's posthumous memoirs; his Doctor at Auschwitz originally classified as fiction; and Nyiszli's postwar membership in Ana Pauker's Romanian Communist Party. 90 min. (#A153) $9.95

Legal Repression in Germany

Germar Rudolf

This youthful scientist and writer — himself a political refugee — reports knowledgeably on Germany's ever more draconian legal measures against dissident "thought criminals." The author of the most advanced forensic analysis of the alleged gas chambers of Auschwitz, renowned as The Rudolf Report, also tells about his recent research and publishing work. Rudolf, now living in forced exile, also takes telling aim at Robert Jan Van Pelt, a key witness in the recent London Irving-Lipstadt trial. Rudolf comments authoritatively on the chemistry of the Auschwitz crematory ruins, as it figured in the Irving trial and in the recent "Mr. Death" movie about Fred Leuchter. 90 min. (#A155) $9.95

Blacklisting My Book, 'An Eye for An Eye'

John Sack

This prolific author and journalist tells the story of his headline-making book in an address he was prevented from giving at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum. Sack dramatically tells how Polish Jews working in the Communist Office of State Security tortured and murdered innocent German civilians, how he discovered some of these Jews years later, and how a few of them repented of their crimes. Following his lecture, Holocaust true-believer Sack answers tough questions from conference attendees. 90 min. (#A156) $9.95

Changing Views of Race and Society / Closing Remarks

Glayde Whitney, Greg Raven & Mark Weber

A Florida State University psychology professor, and former president of the Behavioral Genetics Association, Whitney relates how his field, psychology, was hijacked from its rightful place among the natural sciences to serve a specious ideology-driven agenda of egalitarianism. Whitney names names — from Franz Boas to Steven Jay Gould — and calls for a return to the methods and values of Charles Darwin and Francis Galton. Then, in a heartfelt closing, IHR director Mark Weber and corporate chief Greg Raven close the Conference with thanks to speakers, attendees, and all IHR supporters. 90 min. (#A157) $9.95

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Greg Raven & Mark Weber

With wit and warmth, MC Greg Raven welcomes attendees and speakers to the IHR's first full-scale conference since 1994. Then IHR director Mark Weber delivers a passionate, historically informed overview of the rise of the Zionist and Holocaust mythology to unchallengeable historical dogma, and the consequences of that rise for Western society. Revisionism — historical, political, social, and cultural — at its best! 90 min. (#A145) $9.95

Historical Past vs. Political Present

Arthur R. Butz

In this informative, stimulating lecture, the author of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* brings the method and outlook of his pathbreaking study to bear on the latest issues in Holocaust revisionism. After discussing the accessibility of Holocaust-era material recently available from the Berlin Document Center, Professor Butz discusses — with illuminating insight and mordant incision — the attempts of such exterminationist pundits as self-advertised skeptic Michael Shermer and faux-architect Robert Jan Van Pelt to belittle his own pioneering work on the few Auschwitz documents then available. Butz finishes with a devastating review of the Binjamin Wilkomirski fraud, stressing how Deborah Lipstadt and other pillars of "Holocaust studies" continued to promote this phony "memoir" well after its exposure as a hoax. 90 min. (#A146) $9.95

My Political Imprisonment in Germany

Fredrick Toben

The chief of Australia's Adelaide Institute discloses the facts of his 1999 arrest in Mannheim, and discusses his seven-months imprisonment for thought crime there. Dr. Toben, a philosopher by university training, delivers a moving but clear-eyed account of how his intense thirst for knowledge through free inquiry led him to a German jail, and continues to lead him, undaunted, in the search for truth. 90 min. (#A147) $9.95

The Fate of Unregistered Auschwitz Inmates

Jürgen Graf

Swiss author and researcher Graf examines long-unavailable Auschwitz camp records, from the Moscow archives and elsewhere, to establish the true fates of thousands of Jews at Auschwitz deemed gassed by exterminationists. Graf cites documents showing treatment and release from the Auschwitz hospital of numerous unregistered Hungarian Jews; the presence in Auschwitz of a sizable number of Jewish children, a good number of whom survived the war; and records of many Hungarian Jews, unregistered at Auschwitz, who were sent on to other German camps. Bristling with facts and insight. 90 min. $9.95 (#A148)

My Struggle in Canada

Ernst Zündel

The man who commissioned the Leuchter Report and inspired David Irving's conversion to gas-chamber skepticism talks movingly of his marathon struggle for freedom of expression in his adopted homeland. Zündel relates how the ludicrously named Canadian Human Rights Tribunal has been citing Zündel materials on an Internet website, though owned and operated by Ingrid Rimland in California, as the latest pretext for muzzling him. As Ernst makes clear, the machinations of Canada's spy and police agencies, its media, and its Jewish organizational mafia have anything but dampened the spirits of this one-man truth wave. 90 min. $9.95 (#A149)

A Skeptical Look at 'Schindler's List'

Theodore J. O'Keefe

IHR editor O'Keefe takes a skeptical look at "Schindler's List," to show that — as Schindler's Jewish "survivors" agree — the list was actually the work of the venal Jewish ghetto policeman and concentration camp capo, Marcel Goldberg. Looking beyond the misnamed list, O'Keefe establishes that Schindler's life-saving exertions are a postwar invention; that his activities as an industrialist and employer of "slave labor" were fully in line with official German policy; and that the survival of "his" Jews, at a branch of the concentration camp Gross-Rosen in Moravia at war's end was far from unique. 90 min. $9.95 (#A150)

On the Front Lines

Robert Countess, Bradley Smith, & John Bennett

Three revisionist activists in top form! Retired college professor and minister of the Gospel Bob Countess recounts, with gusto, his revisionist adventures as a journalist and prankster in Scandinavia and his promotional and publishing work with such scholars as Germar Rudolf. Bradley Smith tells of his latest successes on US campuses, where his publications have graduated *from being banned* to being burned. Longtime Australian activist and civil-liberties attorney John Bennett champions a more diverse, better humored revisionism. 180 min. Two-tape set. (#A151) $19.90

Machinations of the Anti-Defamation League

Pete McCloskey

The former US Congressman tells how his long career in law, politics, academic life, and the Marine Corps led him to mistrust governmental official history and to esteem the mission of the IHR. McCloskey

gas chambers have a vested interest, to some degree, in defending the honor of Germany.

My politics have always been mostly to the left. I began to change my view of Jews in 1992-93 when I lived in Israel as a Fulbright scholar, and observed routine humiliating mistreatment by Jews of non-Jews. That experience profoundly troubled me, and led me to intensive research of Jews and the "Jewish question.

For the past several years I have been working on an encyclopedic book about the Jews and their role in society. For example, I have dug up tremendous detail about the Jewish role in the sports and pornography businesses. Most of the sources in this massive study are, of course, Jewish.

My book addresses just about every aspect of this vast issue, including Jewish identity, Jewish ethnocentrism, Jewish racism, Jewish history (including the perpetual problems with non-Jews), the "Russian" mafia, Wall Street, Jewish double-standard "ethics," Jewish dominance of African-American organizations, "anti-Semitism," Israel/Zionism, and the Jewish power role in the mass media, modern art, government, and "intellectual" life.

In this book I try to tie it all together, showing why identifying Jews who hold power and wield influence is not irrational or "prejudicial" but, to the contrary, essential. My moral outrage at what I have found has led me to devote huge amounts of time to this project.

R. K.
[by e-mail]

No to 'Exterminationist'

I wish you would stop using the term "exterminationist" to refer to those who uphold or defend the traditional Holocaust extermination story. For the uninitiated the term is confusing. It sounds bizarre, like the name of a professional wrestler, an insecticide brand name or a comic book villain. As an alternative, I suggest "holocausterian."

Beyond that, I appreciate Robert Faurisson's desire to avoid the term "Holocaust," because it appeals to pseudo-religious, irrational and fantasy impulses.

D. D.
Böblingen, Germany

Recalling German Wartime Anti-Gas Bomb Shelters

In the July-August 1999 *Journal*, I read with special interest the article by Samuel Crowell, "Wartime Germany's Anti-Gas Air Raid Shelters." Having grown up in Berlin during the Third Reich, I remember very well the wartime air raid shelter in our apartment complex.

At the beginning of his article, Crowell writes: "... Many people expected gas warfare to be a feature any future conflict ... German civil defense literature of the time reflected this anxiety, describing in detail how bomb shelters were to be made secure from both bombs and poison gas ... German bomb shelters were also designed and built as anti-gas shelters." I find this remark to be very accurate.

Our apartment shelter was originally used only for storage by the people living in the building, but soon it was transformed into an air raid shelter for the six families living in each walk-up.

I was still young — eleven when the war began in 1939 and nearly 17 when it ended — but I clearly remember when the transformation took place. An extra heavy metal door was added to the cellar entrance, and at the entrance to the area in front of that, at the bottom of the flight of stairs, a heavy curtain was added. We were definitely told that this was a protection against possible gas attacks. The curtained-off area in front of the cellar was for the shedding of poisoned clothing, we were told.

The small windows that were part of each individual cellar storage area were indeed closed off with the shutter-type devices described by Crowell. I also remember seeing at least one gas mask in the cellar area.

I also recall talk of a washing area in case of gas attack injuries. However, I did not actually see it because we children were not allowed to roam about in the shelters during air raids. One of the men always had to be stationed near the entrance, to keep any possibly contaminated person from dashing into our shelter. Before being allowed to enter, the person would first have had to go through the decontamination process.

The matter-of-fact advertisement for "Panzerlit" steel protective doors (reproduced on page 21 of Crowell's article) was typical of wartime "steel saving" closures for protection against air attacks.

As Crowell writes, it is more than reasonable to assume that large German labor or concentration camps would have had comparable shelters with similar anti-gas features to protect those who lived and worked there. At Birkenau, where else would such shelters have been but in the [*Krema* morgue] cellars?

Crowell's well-researched and fact-filled article offers a very plausible explanation for anyone willing to see the truth.

G. E. K.
Grants Pass, Oregon

Era of Consolidation

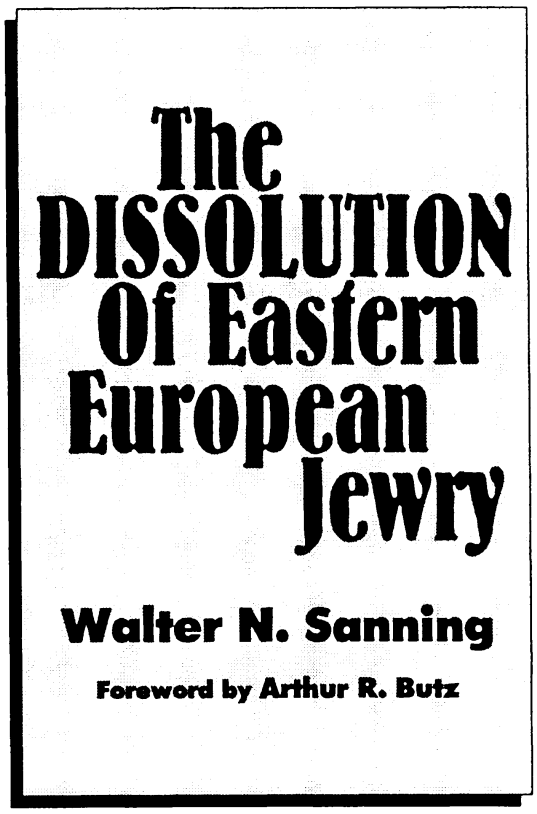
Just a quick note to say how much I've enjoyed learning so much from you about history, especially the history of the 20th century — which might well be called the era of the consolidation of Jewish power. I greatly appreciate your forceful stand against the historical lie of the Holocaust. I enjoy helping to expand the power of the IHR.

J. R.
Bakersfield, Calif.

We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space. Write: Editor, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659, USA, or e-mail us at editor@ihr.org

Where are the Missing 'Six Million'? If Hitler Didn't Kill Europe's Jews, What Happened to Them?

In this masterly, unprecedented and, so far, unique demographic study, a qualified specialist shows what happened to Europe's Jews under Hitler and during the Second World War. *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry* provides the best accounting available of the actual fate of the "Six Million."



Carefully analyzes the (often fragmentary) census data and the extraordinary population displacements that occurred before, during and after the war, which involved great migrations and deportations of Jewish refugees into Soviet Russia and Ukraine, North and South America, and Palestine.

This study establishes that there never were "six million" Jews under German control at any time. It shows, for example, that the great majority of Jews in the Soviet territories occupied by the Germans, 1941-1944, and who are widely assumed to have perished as "victims of the Holocaust," were actually evacuated or fled — and never came under German rule.

Based on a wide range of sources, including publications of the Institute for Jewish Affairs and such reference works as the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* and the *American Jewish Year Book,* as well as contemporary European periodicals and wartime German documents.

In his foreword, Northwestern University Prof. Arthur R. Butz calls this "the first full length serious study of World War II-related Jewish population changes ... This book presents the fundamentally correct account of the subject. The perfect antidote to the vulgar idiocies that are today monotonously peddled by the media ..."

The author was born in 1936 into an ethnic German family in a part of eastern Europe that was later incorporated into the Soviet Union. In the mid-1950s he emigrated to the United States, where he met his wife. He graduated with a B.A. (high honors) in international business from a prominent Pacific Northwest university, and did PhD-level graduate work at a major Ivy League university on the East coast. He taught business, finance and economics at both the undergraduate and graduate levels at a major west coast university. He returned to work in the business world in the early 1970s.

The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry
by Walter N. Sanning
Foreword by Dr. Arthur R. Butz
Quality softcover. 239 pages. Graphs. Charts.
Maps. Bibliography. Index. (#0389)
ISBN 0-939484-11-0
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A revisionist classic and indispensable resource for scholar and layman alike!

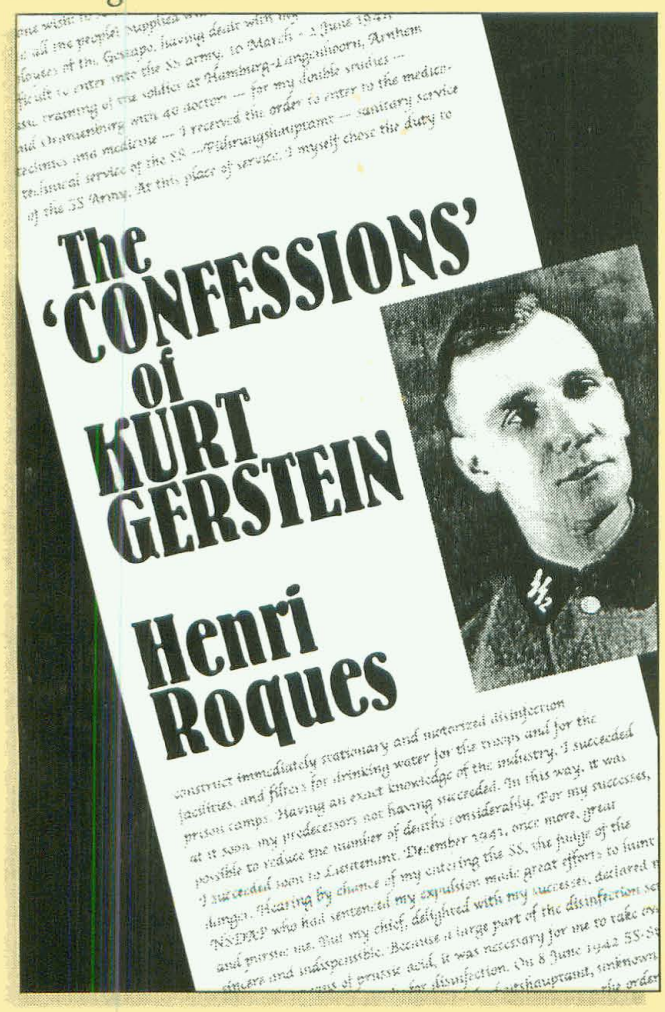
The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein

.Here is the headline-making university doctoral dissertation that debunks the key "Holocaust" testimony of SS officer Kurt Gerstein — the enigmatic, twisted Third Reich functionary who claimed to have witnessed mass gassings of Jews in 1942. In this closely argued study a French scholar subjects Gerstein's accusations to critical examination, striking at the very roots of the Holocaust extermination story. The stunning conclusion: not only are Gerstein's allegations of mass killings of Jews groundless, but prominent Holocaust historians have deliberately manipulated and falsified key parts of Gerstein's tortured testimony.

Henri Roques

This powerful exposé and its author made world headlines in 1986 when, for the first time in the nearly eight-century history of French universities, a duly awarded doctorate was revoked by government order.

Gerstein's bogus "confessions" were the basis of the anti-German and anti-Catholic hysteria stirred by Rolf Hochhuth's play "The Deputy." Roques' study thus shatters the myth of Pope Pius XII's complicity in Holocaust genocide.



British historian Hugh Trevor-Roper (Lord Dacre) praised this study as "an entirely legitimate, scholarly and responsible work of *Quellenkritik* [source critique] on a limited but important subject."

Michel de Bouard of the Institut de France declared: "Had I been a member of the jury, I would probably have given a grade of 'very good' to Mr. Roques' thesis."

Includes transcripts and translations of all six versions of Gerstein's "testimonies," as well as facsimiles of the original texts and other previously unpublished documents and records. Translated from the French by Ronald Percival, who also provides a foreword.

The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein

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